

University of Alberta

Miss Canada and the Allegory of Nation

by

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Canada

Abstract

This dissertation examines the allegorical figure of Miss Canada in a broad range of media such as political cartoons, illustrations, advertisements, literary texts, photographs and film. My concern is with the ideological function of her image over late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canadian cultural history. Her idealization--following a genealogy of female allegorical figures--as a paragon of chaste, white, domestic womanhood mitigates the satiric treatment she undergoes in some late nineteenth-century cartoons. Thus she performs a regulatory function, keeping the image of the nation intact and inviolable. However, when she appears in cartoons chronicling historical crises, the ideological stamp is more nuanced. The gap between nation and state is an imagined one, subject to misrecognition. A moral, idealized figure of the nation enables the viewer to imaginatively separate the nation and growing state. Yet, for the state to expand its jurisdiction and power, a nation must be imagined in step with this growth. Miss Canada focalizes this paradox. Appearing in cultural forms such as patriotic poems, didactic plays and novels, Miss Canada also performs a pedagogical function as she schools national subjects in the performance of their national subjectivity. In order to ensure that her progeny build the future, the narratives in which she appears pursue a matrimonial trajectory.

Always single and available in photographic and film versions, however, she is forever poised to reproduce the nation. Embodied Miss Canada, a figure of both containment and excess, openly displays the spoils of the nation's commodity capitalism through an over-inscription on her body, while she contains this productivity within middle-class civility. Focalization on her body, combined with documentary film effects, cause her mythic status to chafe against the fact that actual, historical women now occupy

this role. Instead of a glorious past and limitless future, modernity, the present, and commodity culture shape this female allegory. Instead of a misrecognition hinging on a disavowal of state in favour of nation, the image disavows a pluralistic nation in favour of a homogenized blend of woman and commodity culture, whose global coordinates ensure spurious and expedient claims to nation.

Picture Credits and Acknowledgements

In addition to specific picture credits listed below, the author wishes to thank the following individuals and institutions:

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Figure #15 "On Life's Threshold" *Montreal Standard* 1910.

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Figure #58 "Farewell." Frederick J. Willson *Canadian Illustrated News* 29 Oct., 1881.

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Miss Canada and the Allegory of Nation

Introduction

Representation is the means through which nations dream themselves into being.¹ During the years of Canada's early dominion and fledgling nation status, 1867 to roughly the 1920s, the image of Miss Canada proliferated in newspaper and magazine editorial cartoons. As a representation, she mediates between political and social events and the culture she comes to signify. Her figure is at once demonstrative of the familial, cultural bond between Britain and the dominion, of the young nation's idealized, moral imperative and of its ideological resolution of rupture and crisis. While she appears in cartoons which serve as satirical watch-dogs of political triumphs, foibles, machinations and excesses, she admonishes, instructs and endorses the political system--she does not call for wholesale upheaval. This tone is typical for the genre of political satire in parliamentary democracy going back to William Hogarth's election series² or James Gillray's irreverent drawings of George III.³ In Miss Canada's cartoon image, interpretation, not insurrection, is at stake. But the reasons for this are not restricted to tradition and genre. Both her allegorical make-up and the history and function of news media in Canada also contribute to the stability Miss Canada invokes. Unlike symbol, that transcendent figure whose referent is satisfyingly present behind it, allegory is a vacuous figure, connected temporally to historical antecedents but never present unto itself. As an "other speaking," allegory offers no absolute or transcendent meaning. Miss Canada's predecessors, most particularly her "mother" Britannia, are linked with her in an endless sign-for-sign substitution ranging as far back as Athena.⁴ While she is hollow in the sense that she contains no absolute meaning, she is also stable and inviolate in the

sense that she connects to British Anglo-Saxon culture and ideals and insists on their preservation. Allegory is charged with salvation of the past and endowment for the future.⁵ The tone and tenor of low satire is thus perpetuated through this allegorical embodiment. Another more prosaic, yet nonetheless convincing, reason for her role in satirizing, but not de-stabilizing, the status quo is the way in which newspapers and magazines were (arguably still are) affiliates of specific political parties or lobby interests. For example, Toronto's *Grip* was notoriously liberal while *The Daily Mail* (later *The Mail and Empire*) was a veritable engine of the Tories.⁶ In this period when it was not uncommon for managing editors to be sole proprietors of their newspaper,⁷ it is little wonder that editorial cartoons would reflect the ideological stamp of these men. Since, as a class and an educated milieu, their interests were in *building* institutions and in edifying their largely middle-class public, their message was (at its most vilifying) to disparage and debunk but not to depose.

Governmental and quasi-governmental (railways, for example) institutions proliferated during the late-nineteenth century, indicating that state formation was well underway. Many argue, in fact, that state formation followed responsible government in 1840.⁸ Indeed, dominion status and provisions for executive, legislative and judiciary powers were quite hospitable to state formation, in spite of Canada's colonial standing in international affairs. As Richard Gwyn casually observes, "from our very beginning, we've been defined from the top down" (18). Assessing state formation in Canada, Greer and Radforth offer a Durkheimian and Marxist definition of the state "as a cultural phenomenon . . . by which authority [becomes] progressively pervasive and efficacious in society" (10). Greer and Radforth also turn to Theda Skocpol's version of the state,

defined as "actual institutions and the process by which they become more effective agencies of coercion and administration, taking fuller control of civil society and penetrating into previously neglected corners of the social formation" (10-11). While Skocpol's definition implies the state's more deliberate and invasive functions, these definitions need not be mutually exclusive; state authority can be "pervasive and efficacious" deploying one set of powers, and "coer[cive]" and "penetrating" engaging another. We must not forget, following Foucault, that power can be both repressive *and* transformative (*History* 136). Nations which grew or were wrested out of colonial environments may be classified as states prior to becoming nations. Referring to Canada's state formation within this category, Jonathan Kertzer maintains that "the state usually came first and a nationalist ideology had to be fostered by educated elites who instructed the 'folk' from whom they allegedly drew inspiration" (63). Although nations are "supposed to grow organically, without contrivance" (63), Kertzer continues, they are highly constructed conceptual frameworks. One of the reasons why allegory is such a fitting device of national imagining is that it, too, is a contrivance, proclaiming at once its nature and its artifice.

Nation and state are not the same thing, but neither are they entirely separable. If nation is the imagined identity and relation to a constructed, material, historical, geographically and linguistically bounded and ethnic entity, state is the juridical, political, bureaucratic and social system existing in concert with capital-industrial economies. While nation is an ideal which can be represented in myths and allegories such as Miss Canada, nation, along with the state, can perpetuate a homogeneous, hegemonic culture. In Canada, the nation was being imagined long before it could be

officially recognized as such; similarly, the state infrastructure was growing apace. My emphasis here will be on how the nation exists in representation, in discourse, and how that representation represses or reflects the state.

It is possible to conceive of the state as a thriving entity *a priori* of the nation, but it is necessary to contend with the problem of dominion and nation as conceptual categories. The terms ought not to conflate, for the former is a term defined in and legitimated by the BNA Act, and the latter is a conception formed largely in the subject's imagination. Canada was a dominion within the British Empire; nevertheless, Canada's subjects saw themselves as a separate body--and that body was, and to a much lesser degree still is, Miss Canada. Miss Canada was part of a growing national discourse, at once representing the dominion and the incipient nation. Even though progress from colony to dominion to nation was gradual, in terms of representation, the movement is recursive. Dominion is never denied in favour of nation; nonetheless, nation is never suppressed in honour of dominion. These terms may be troubling in hindsight, but their use in historical representations speaks to both an anxiety over how Canada was to be defined and a hope for what it might become.

While the satire of Miss Canada cartoons functions within what Stuart Hall has termed a "structured ideological field" ("Ideological" 345), and is therefore held in check, the vocabulary of representation is nevertheless varied. Miss Canada appears in a number of guises. In early incarnations of her--from the 1870s and 1880s--she is mostly pictured in classical garb with a headpiece and a staff or an aegis, often accompanied by her mother Britannia or her sister/cousin Miss Columbia, similarly attired. However, this classically-styled Miss Canada cannot be traced by historical period, or for that matter by

artist alone, since images of her in contemporary dress appear as early as 1869 and in classical raiment as late as 1920. Even a single artist will depict her differently: J.W. Bengough, arguably the most prolific cartoon artist of the late nineteenth century, sketched many versions of Miss Canada, from the classical, elegant, idealized young woman, to the young girl in contemporary dress, to a more matronly adaptation and, finally, to a stylized "New Woman." The terms of this vocabulary are shaped by the nature of the political crisis, the ideological imprint and prevailing notions of a feminine ideal, rather than by perfunctory shifts in cartooning style. Moreover, several artists adopted the image of Miss Canada as an allegory for the nation: J.W. Bengough (mentioned above), his brother, William Bengough, A.G. Racey, Henri Julien, F.J. Willson, Alonzo Ryan, J. M. Groner and J. G. Mackay, to name only a few. Miss Canada was also present in French-language cartoons, especially those by Alonzo Ryan, a principal artist for *Le Canard*. In these illustrations, she is a nubile, young sweetheart as *Mademoiselle Canada*, or alternatively, a matronly, motherly sort as *Madame Canada*. Elsewhere,⁹ I consider the significance of and the degree to which she is a cultural translation from English to French Canada,¹⁰ where the chief difference lies in the occasional satirical volley aimed her way, rather than aimed strictly in the direction of other political figures in the drawing. Her various incarnations and consistent mobilization over more than one hundred years suggest that Miss Canada's image has more to do with political, social and cultural stakes in nation building than it has with artist talent or preference. For this reason, individual artists' contributions play a minor role in this research compared to conditions of the visual and methods of seeing; raced and gendered iconography of empire and nation; ideologies of nation and the workings of

hegemony in a nation state; flash points of crisis or social division and Miss Canada's role in masking crisis; the cartoons' relationship to a literary and cultural context; and the visual and social inheritance of this gendered national image.

This thesis takes a multivalent approach to examining the role that Miss Canada plays in articulating a nation-space that is gendered, raced, classed and profoundly hegemonic. Rather than offer a feminine intervention in an otherwise significantly masculine cultural imaginary, Miss Canada constructs a masculine national subject and performs a legitimated and circumscribed femininity during a time of great negotiation and change in women's roles in Canada. Her image invites critique because of capitulation to a maternal feminine ideal, certainly, but given the predominance of the maternal feminine in suffrage and other feminist struggles,¹¹ her maternal feminine incarnation can be adequately contextualized and accounted for. More troubling is the ideological work that Miss Canada does and the hegemonic consent through which she represents the nation. She is ideological in the sense that she embodies the nation while she hides or misrepresents the often messy and conspiratorial workings of the state. Satire alone cannot stem the tide of ideology when newspapers and magazines are, arguably, examples of what Louis Althusser calls "Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISAs). She is hegemonic in that viewers, habituated to her allegorical make-up and familiar with her idealized and stylized figure, offer consent to the foundational logic of her embodiment. In order to consent, viewers--both present and contemporary--must be satisfied that "genuine hopes and needs" are met in "plausible and attractive" (Eagleton 15) ways. Ideology, and the hegemony through which it operates, is in this sense a relational

category: there is a bond of sorts between Miss Canada and her viewer or she could not have been read unequivocally as "Canada."

While Slavoj Žižek, the theorist who has been most influential in my thinking about ideology, would argue that ideology masks a Lacanian, unrepresentable "Real" ("Spectre"), an underbelly, or, following Laclau and Mouffe, a "kernel" of antagonism that is by (Lacanian) definition impossible to locate, I will argue that such antagonism is locatable and its sites are traceable in Canadian history. Through Althusser's concretization of the subject in ideology, I can reframe the unrepresentable "Real" as something consisting of lived relations and material circumstances. In her search for a psychoanalytic politics, Elizabeth Bellamy describes Althusserian re-interpretation of the Lacanian subject:

Althusser defines ideology as 'the imaginary relationship of individuals to the real conditions in which they live' (165). As the coefficient that produces imaginary representations of the individual's relation to these real conditions, ideology serves to distort and conceal social contradictions of oppression. Althusser's ideology is analogous to 'lived' experience, then, insofar as its inversion of personal and material causes through (self)-representations is what constitutes individuals as (obedient, freely subjected) subjects. Ideology supplies the subject with satisfying, unified images of selfhood that idealize the subject's conditions of existence and make these images appear natural, unmediated, and direct. (28)

If it is possible to conceive of subjects as having a relationship to "real conditions"—however imaginary that relationship may be—then we must concede that there are

material conditions, and therefore points of rupture, in social life. Notwithstanding the fact that events are discursively mediated, history can be glimpsed through an ideological critique.

Social division is not immediately recognizable in the cartoons showing Miss Canada, in spite of satiric treatment given to political transgressions. Antagonisms of race, class and gender are occluded by Miss Canada's white, middle-class, Anglo, feminized form. That she embodies an idealized version of the nation also misrepresents a deep division in her subjects' consciousness: the reality of colonial status in all international affairs. Canada's treasured ties to Britain are conflicted by desires for and dreams of nation. Thus, while the nation state carries out its expansion and institutionalization, the colony founders in treaties¹² which proclaim its subservience as an "undefiled and adoring elder daughter in the imperial family" (Brouwer 98). This inherent conflict did enter the field of public debate at various moments through such groups as the "Canada First" movement, the Imperial Federation movement and the movement for annexation with the U.S.: each group voiced opinions on the scope and degree of Canadian autonomy. Nevertheless, the image of Miss Canada stakes a claim for a naturalized, integrated, political entity. The cartoon, an aesthetic act, is, as Fredric Jameson would argue, "itself ideological, and the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right" (79). Jameson's reasoning is that the symbolic act--in this case the cartoon or other idealized embodiment of Miss Canada--becomes a site where "real social contradictions, insurmountable in their own terms, find a purely formal resolution in the aesthetic realm" (79). The colony/dominion/nation dilemma is "insurmountable" because it derives from the very structure of the dominion

and its powers as delimited by the British North America Act. Any event or crisis depicted by a cartoon featuring Miss Canada must be understood first within the context of this fundamental and--at least throughout the greater portion of the period under study--enduring, antagonism. One of my chief aims in this thesis will be to demonstrate how Miss Canada, while ostensibly satirizing issues of the period, actually forecloses fundamental antagonism, flash points of crisis and deep social division in politics, race, class and gender.

Reading the cartoons, illustrations, photographs and films, then, requires a methodology that takes ideological encoding into account. I have devised for this project a composite methodology which attempts to define the ways that the visible acquires meaning. The social construction of gender and gender performance provide one standard with which to measure *how* Miss Canada means. Miss Canada enacts a maternal imperative through her relationships as daughter, mother or sweetheart, depending on the narrative terms of a particular image. She performs¹³ her gender in ways that are historically situated and socially circumscribed. Her femininity is grounded in certain norms: of maternity, in that she is often pictured as the mother of the nation; and of courtship rituals, in that she consorts with political figures and receives or rejects matrimonial and/or sexual advances. She will take her place in the symbolic order¹⁴ as bearer, not maker, of meaning and is thus complicit with a patriarchal order. Paradoxically, she is a marker of both feminine excess and patriarchal containment. As a moral arbiter, however, she represents social order and so must, in the end, tip the scales of equivocation to the side of containment and strict sexual and social boundaries. On the basis of gender, then, Miss Canada may be read as a boundary figure, prohibiting

transgressions of gender, race and class. She is particularly well suited as a frontier preventing miscegenation, especially in cartoons that circulated during times of increased Asian immigration (figures #3 and #4) when voices representing labour, Christianity and middle-class values rallied most vociferously against racial difference and for exclusionary practices.¹⁵ Fears of racial suicide--and the inevitable moral degeneration that was thought to ensue--met at the boundary called "woman": her sexual vulnerability was a repository for this fear while her moral superiority was a safeguard against it. Enacting her femininity, her white Anglo-Saxon purity and her middle-class uniformity, Miss Canada is a stable signifier for the nation. These social constructions of gender, race and class must be considered as cues for reading the cartoons and other images. Because of the influence of the social on the visual,¹⁶ they structure the viewer's interpretation in profound ways.

My methodology is founded not only on theories of social construction, but is indebted also to semiotic film theory for Laura Mulvey's description of female objectification within and by the film apparatus and for Theresa de Lauretis's interrogation of and rapprochement with the Oedipal narrative. Despite the absence of the film apparatus, the cartoon's frame and caption, its familiar domestic narratives and its mass production in newspapers and magazines have the effect of focalizing Miss Canada's image. By focalizing and focalization, I refer to Mieke Bal's definition which I apply more specifically in a discussion of narrative elements in cartoons in chapter three, but which deserves mention here. Bal sees focalization as the "view of events" (145) or a successive chain of seeing impelled by the position of figures in the image, figures who are themselves "viewing" events or figures in a narrative tableau. I contend that

focalization begins at a further remove from the image, however, at the scene of the viewer's *expectations* governed by several factors, including proliferation of the image in mass media, political and social stakes in the decision to view the image, framing and captioning of the cartoon or illustration and, finally, readiness formed by popularity of and familiarity with Miss Canada. The viewer is thus trained to look, and she is the object of the gaze. Her objectification engenders a certain subjectivity in the viewer by means of sexual difference. The viewer, like the camera in Mulvey's configuration,¹⁷ is always assumed to be male, and, by extension, national subjectivity is assumed to be masculine.

These semiotic principles of identification, while somewhat rudimentary and ahistorical, suggest ways of looking that do correspond to historical conditions. The period witnessed a staggering array of female iconography¹⁸ within an explosion of visual display. Add to this the sanctity accorded to a maternal feminine ideal in spite of, and often alongside, suffrage and social reform movements, and a specular binary such as I describe ought not to be surprising. De Lauretis's discussion of the Oedipal narrative addresses the issue of identification through narrative rather than strict specularization. She asks whether or not female identification is possible in film since all narrative, according to Roland Barthes, follows an Oedipal trajectory "to denude, to know, to learn the origin and the end" (qtd. in de Lauretis, *Alice* 106). To be engaged in and by narrative, argues de Lauretis, is to be driven by "meaning and desire" (106). Identification, she continues, is "a movement, a subject-process, a relation" (141). If woman is the end or prize in narrative, with what must the spectator identify? In the case of the cartoons, if a woman were to identify with Miss Canada, she would necessarily "assimilate an aspect, property or attribute of the other and be transformed by it" (141).

But the narratives of courtship, domesticity and threat obviate any identification except as object because Miss Canada is the end of the narrative, not the agent or means. Other figures in the cartoons, notably politicians like Sir John A. Macdonald, Alexander Mackenzie, Wilfrid Laurier and Robert Borden, or an allegorical figure such as Uncle Sam, are the questing, journeying agents of the action. What the cartoon amounts to is a form of visual representation that is constructed for the masculine spectator. Viewers are both subjects looking *and* national subjects. I do not suggest that the latter subjectivity simply follows the former: rather, the terms of the cartoon dictate a national scope and thus address a national subject. My point here is to stress the idea that a feminine allegory props up a phallogentric ideology. What Mulvey and de Lauretis's film-based schema offer, then, is a way to ask who would have been looking, at whom and for what reason? These questions foreground the problem of the irremediable distance between the object--woman as nation--and the state polity she represents.

The notion that Miss Canada invokes a masculine, national subjectivity in the viewer can be more precisely understood through Stuart Hall's theory of subject positioning. Hall embarks upon a "constructionist" approach, based on the idea that we "must not confuse the material world . . . and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate" ("The Work" 25). Hall posits the argument that "all meanings are produced within history and culture," an approach that "unfixes" meaning ("The Work" 32). His model is based upon three theoretical precepts: Saussurian structuralism, Barthesian myth and Foucauldian discourse. However, Hall's version of representation takes aspects of each of these approaches and is slavish to none. He recognizes the scientific dependency in Saussure's work, which is nevertheless

foundational for Barthes's structuralist approach, and he is mindful of the more "historically grounded," but nevertheless discourse-laden mien of Foucault's theories. Hall's main concern, however, seems to flow from the question: Where is the subject? ("The Work" 54). While Hall acknowledges that the "shift towards a constructionist conception of language and representation did a great deal to displace the subject from a privileged position in relation to knowledge and meaning" (55), he makes several key statements to clarify the role and place of the subject in relation to what is represented. He states that "all discourses, then, construct *subject-positions* from which alone they make sense" (56) and that "representation works as much through what is *not* shown as through what is": through the "interplay between presence and absence" (59). Hall's discussion of Velasquez's painting, *Las Meninas*, in response to Foucault's analysis of the same, furnishes a more concrete example of how subject-positions are formed:

So the spectator (who is also 'subjected' to the discourse of the painting) is doing two kinds of looking. Looking at the scene from the position outside, in front of, the picture . . . we take up the positions indicated by the discourse, identify with them, subject ourselves to its meanings and become its 'subjects.' . . . The discourse produces a *subject-position* for the spectator-subject. (60)

Hall's claim is particularly amenable to my reading of cartoons, illustrations, photographic and filmic images of Miss Canada--not least because he bases it on a visual example. Returning to Turner's point that representation is a "discursive mediation" (*National* 123), I add that cartoon viewing entails a very specific subject-positioning. The viewer is adopted into manifold discursive operations in the drawing: the reconstruction

of an historical event (including, remember, that which is left out), the fixing of the woman's body as allegory for the nation, the narrativization--in melodramatic *tableau*--of her subjection and the ideology of nation, raced, classed, "mapped" and domesticated on and by the body of woman. The viewer is not merely a subject viewing the object, but instead is subjected to the discursive features of the cartoon. The subject-position, then, is highly contextual, social, historical and, above all, ideological. Because of this very complex view of subject-positioning as Hall imagines it, representation can be described in a highly nuanced way. Thus, Hall's subject-positioning can take up where Mulvey and de Lauretis's semiotic film theories leave off: at the point where masculine/feminine subject/object spectator relations need to be contextualized within the social and historical exigencies of the image.

The trouble with reading representations, however, resides in the difficulty of historicizing that spectator subject. We have to assume that in order for Miss Canada to be recognizable as the nation, the viewer would necessarily experience the growing state as an absent presence or a mere trace that connects nation to nation-state. For, as Susan Hayward says, "nationalist discourses around culture work to forge the link--the hyphen--between nation and state. Nationalist discourses act then to make the practise of the state as 'natural' as the concept of nation . . ." (89). By examining the presence of the political, notions of "the popular," connections between culture and "the people," the function of print media as ideological state apparatuses and cartoonists' complicity with these functions, we can force the state more clearly into view and thereby comprehend the viewer's grounding in both nation and state. While she makes the function of the state palatable through her moral exemplarity, Miss Canada nevertheless operates in the realm

of the political. Thus, even in cartoons where contemporary political figures are absent, their presence haunts the cartoon space. Assurance of the political scene is a reminder of the operations of the state: its parliamentary, bureaucratic and juridical mechanisms. Featured in daily, weekly and monthly magazines and newspapers, these cartoons belonged in the realm of popular culture. But "the popular" cannot simply be read speciously as frequent, ubiquitous or commercial, although these are some of its obvious traits. As Hall has suggested, "there is no whole, authentic, autonomous 'popular culture' which lies outside the field of force of the relations of cultural power and domination" (qtd. in Frow 26). As soon as we recognize the potential for "cultural power and domination" we are, as John Frow argues, in "contested ground . . . understood in terms of struggle over how the world is to be understood--a struggle over the terms of our experience of the world. And the struggle is of importance because it is really capable of *forming* popular experience" (26). Miss Canada, comely, disarming and charged with allegorical significance in both her relationship to Britannia and her aim to mother the nation, enters that contested fray. She vies for the opportunity to shape the views of spectator subjects. She is the image of the nation, helping to form for her observers how they see themselves in relation to her. The terms of this subject-positioning must have been constantly re-negotiated, but since her entrance into this contested ground was so frequent and enduring, Miss Canada can be seen to have exercised "cultural power and domination." She sustains a cultural valence adept at forming popular experience.

Moreover, print, photographic and film media is a particularly ambient field for manufacturing and re-producing the hegemonic consent necessary for identification with the nation and state. The links between media and ideological state apparatuses

(Althusser) and the modern capitalist industrial state (Hall "Ideological"; Sotiron) have been well understood for several decades. I would like to explore more precisely how media accomplishes that consent from viewers/consumers of popular images such as Miss Canada. By including Miss Canada regularly in their repertoire, cartoonists inflected events in specific ways consistent with dominant ideologies. As part of an ideological state apparatus, cartoonists would have been interpellated into prevailing ideologies. If they did not conform within a "structured ideological field" (Hall, "Ideological" 345), there is little likelihood that newspapers and magazines would have hired their services, much less kept them on an editorial staff. This inflection may be defined as encoding within a limited range of possibilities. Hall explains that

though events will not be systematically encoded in a single way, they will tend, systematically, to draw on a very limited ideological or explanatory repertoire; and that repertoire . . . will have the overall tendency of making things 'mean' within the sphere of the dominant ideology. Further, since the encoder wants to expand the explanatory reach, the credibility and the effectiveness of the 'sense' which he is making of events, he will employ the whole repertoire of encodings . . . to 'win consent' in the audience These 'points of identification' make the preferred reading of events credible and forceful: they sustain its preferences through the *accenting* of the ideological field ("Ideological" 344)

Print media in general and editorial cartoonists in particular are the agents of this encoding. Thus the range of inflections found in the cartoons and other images remain well within the strictures made available by a growing, functioning state apparatus.

Consequently, the state is an absent presence, an insidious, misrecognized entity in the allegorical body of Miss Canada. But it is important to note that such representation is all the more *credible* and *forceful* as a result. She can readily garner viewer consent for the dominant ideology because, as chapter one makes clear, even highly satiric cartoons fall within the range of agreeable codes within which to imagine the nation.

My methodology is further informed by two complementary modes: melodrama and myth. The narrative pattern of most of the cartoons is based on melodramatic principles, principles which call for psychic Manichean drama between good and evil to be played out in visual terms in the domestic sphere. Melodrama focalizes capitalist success in bourgeois excess while it relies on the female figure to renew a moral order. Melodrama's signifiers are almost exclusively (at least in terms of cartoons) the figure and the gesture,¹⁹ visual cues which, together with a cartoon's framing device and narrative movement, set the conditions of vision and the possibility of meaning. Myth, according to Roland Barthes, cloaks the historical, political conditions around which the cartoon circulates. As a "metalanguage," or "second order semiological" approach, myth "hides" in meaning (*Mythologies* 114, 118). Reading the cartoons with a mythographer's eye provides glimpses into the distortions that are the myths themselves. Myth enables the viewer to appreciate the gaps, for example, between the allegorical signifier of nation--the body of the woman, Miss Canada--and the nation-state which is naturalized through her image. Since melodrama animates and structures the cartoons, it has a direct effect on how we view them; myth functions as an over-arching claim on the viewer's understanding, equipping the viewer with tools to grasp the "bigger picture" or the greater ideological scheme.

Many of the cartoons which feature Miss Canada do so in the context of a courtship narrative; in more threatening versions of this theme she is the victim of evil, lascivious attentions from philandering politicians or from the racialized, alien other. The influence of melodrama in the staging of these scenes is clear, and the historical period--late nineteenth, early twentieth century--is coextensive with that of melodrama's hold on British theatre.²⁰ While melodrama's beginnings are found in French theatre around 1800 (Brooks 29), by the late nineteenth century, melodrama's "range of non-verbal repertoire," "Manichean outlook" and "Gothic" subject matter had been integrated into legitimate theatre in Britain (Gledhill 20). But its influence was by no means confined to theatre. The political cartoon will have been shaped by melodrama because, as Christine Gledhill states,

the energy and ambivalence of the melodramatic imagination found their aesthetic release in an expanding culture of the visible. Eighteenth-century Minor House dependency on spectacle met with a growing emphasis on the visual across a range of cultural forms, as a generalized shift took place from verbal exposition toward visual demonstration (22)

So widespread was this shift toward the visual,²¹ that the world "was saturated with pictures" (Booth qtd. in Gledhill 22). Political cartoons display their messages and evoke sympathy, or, at the very least, recognition, from the viewer in one or two frames, so the simplicity and immediacy of melodrama's Manichean moral touchstones told in deliberate bodily gesture readily suit the cartoon medium.

Melodrama entered the tone and tenor of political cartoons; however, the precise nature of melodramatic imagery needs to be explored. I have stated that the figure of

Miss Canada is allegorical because of her temporal relationship to other female embodiments such as Marianne, Columbia and, especially, her "mother" Britannia. However, this allegory, while it accounts to some extent for the ideological work of nation building, does not explain the particular narratives within which Miss Canada is engaged. Although the stakes are often international in terms of the cartoon's political message, the settings are often domestic--not just within the nation but within the home, a shop, a barn, at a ball, in a gated yard--a backdrop marked by simple, diurnal, family business. This emphasis on the daily life of the family has its roots, writes Gledhill, in "the separation of work and home, consequent on industrialization and the withdrawal of married, middle-class women from production . . ." (21). Capitalism's bourgeois excesses called for a return to stable, moral touchstones found in "the Edenic home and family, centring on the heroine or 'angel in the house' and the rural community of an earlier generation" (21). Peter Brooks, upon whose work some of Gledhill's is drawn, describes melodrama's topoi thus: "We have then, an underlying structure in which virtue stands opposed to what will seek to discredit it, misrepresent, silence, imprison, or bury it alive" (33). Brooks argues that melodrama envisions how things *ought* to be; however, the society that emerges from its reconciliation is neither a new one (as would be the case with comedy), nor an old one fashioned under a "sacred mantle" (as in tragedy), but, rather, an "old society reformed" (205). This society expels the villain, "the person in whom all evil is seen to be concentrated," and reinstates the "society of decent people" (204). Brooks' topoi accords with the early dominion and nation of Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because, while Canada was depicted as "new" in many respects (the land, the "virgin" forests, for example), its Anglo-Saxon citizens

honoured and cleaved to their "old," imperial and colonial roots. In this way, the Canada of political cartoons is indeed an "old society reformed." In the melodramatic cartoon the Manichean boundaries are sharply and unmistakably drawn: evil takes the form of any usurping, corrupting intruder--most often, Uncle Sam, but even, in one case, a monster named "Political Corruption." Conversely, the "rightness" of Canada's political and geographic integrity and imperial destiny resides in woman, the figure of virtue and moral rectitude and the exemplar of domestic space.

The artists' staging of bodily gesture underscores Manichean conflict in the cartoons. Gestures are hyperbolic because, unlike words, they can, at best, point towards a meaning. Thus they provide a generalized sense of the action and especially of the divide between "good" and "evil." For example, Miss Canada's flight from Uncle Sam's bullies in "Miss Canada's Rescuer" (figure #5) suggests fear and vulnerability, while her haughty, about-face turn from him in "The Cut Direct" (figure #6) suggests outright rejection. Villains are obvious for their reaching, grasping limbs or their obsequious genuflection. Brooks describes mute gesture as "an expressionistic means--precisely the means of melodrama--to render meanings which are ineffable, but nonetheless operative within the sphere of human ethical relationships" (72). Brooks is careful to note, however, that despite being "unspeakable," gestures are "meaning-full" (73). Given the necessity of an immediate message in cartoons (otherwise the audience is quickly lost), it is reasonable that artists rely on the gesture, which, though ineffable, is nonetheless decipherable. Gestures encode basic, ethical boundaries of good and evil, and they hint toward the narrative or diegesis. Titles and captions function in counterpoise to melodramatic gesture; they perform in what Barthes calls "relay" fashion: "text . . . and

image stand in a complementary relationship; the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general syntagm and the unity of the message is realized at a higher level, that of the story, the anecdote, the diegesis" (*Image* 41). The melodramatic form affords a number of assurances: that Canada will always be an unsullied innocent--she may be firm and indecisive by turns, but she is seldom wanton--that dark, designing forces are always external to her and never successful, that she will always have a champion in the form of a politician of one political stripe or another and, finally, that in spite of the dim view an artist may take of political foibles and machinations, order will always be restored. Because the courting, kidnapping, rape or any other form of threat is never accomplished within the frame, cartoon²² melodrama entertains fears but never realizes them: the psychic damage would be too costly. If these are the governing principles of melodrama in cartoons, the repercussions for the image of Canada in the cultural imagination are clear: as an allegorical embodiment, Canada both hearkens back to an "old" immemorial past while she anticipates a "new" future. As an embodiment of moral purity, Miss Canada extends that moral legitimacy to the nation as a whole. Furthermore, the historical fact of Canada as a growing capitalist nation-state, can, and will, be deflected by the safe, *heimlich*,²³ domestic image of the woman and her sphere. Melodrama's domestic familiarity and moral legitimacy accounts, in part, for the naturalization of the image of nation.

Melodramatic topography trains both the cartoonist's and spectator's gaze upon the victim (woman) as "object-to-be-looked-at," as I have already noted. Action is focused on her engagement, entrapment or victimization by those characters in the scene who seek her subjugation or favour. The exigencies of melodrama in the cartoons ensure

that the object of narrative movement and the image of narrative closure conform to the Oedipal myth. In the courtship drama cartoons, Miss Canada is the site upon which both hero and adversary--Sir John A. Macdonald and Uncle Sam, as respective examples--enact a journey of knowledge and possession. She is no more than "a territory staked out by heroes and monsters (each with their own rights and claims): a landscape mapped by desire, and a wilderness" (de Lauretis, *Alice* 132). As the force of good in the Manichean moral conflict, she is the site of desire and contest. A renewed society is made possible through a vanquishing of evil, not through her own actions. Even when Miss Canada rejects her suitor, as she does Uncle Sam, following Borden's election victory and subsequent rejection of the reciprocity initiative in 1911, she is only protracting her role in this Oedipal drama, delaying, but not denying her part as narrative closure.

Furthermore, the cartoons showing subjection of or physical domination over Miss Canada--one in which Sir John A. stands on her body (figure #7), another where he consorts with her in drunken revelry (figure #8), a third where she is held in the vice grip of a slaving monster called "Political Corruption" (figure #9) and, finally, one where she sleeps fitfully under the gaze of a Fuseli-inspired incubus (figure #10)--are overdetermined versions of this same drama. In these examples, she is the figure of narrative closure: the journey is at an end and her consent to a biological imperative has been achieved by force. Unlike in the courtship scenes, the narrative in these cartoons has circumvented the quest, or journey, and instead has focalized on the object or end result. Similar restrictions apply to those cartoons where Miss Canada is portrayed as a matronly, maternal "angel in the house." She has taken her place in the symbolic order as bearer of meaning. Whether she is admonishing Macdonald for his profligate ways, or

leading troops as a standard bearer, she is nevertheless acting in another's story: her male champions in the melodrama set the terms of the narrative.

One can only appreciate what is denied or lost in this paradigm when one looks at how the cartoons signify on the level of myth. According to Barthes, myth exists as a second order semiological system, one that he "builds" from a base of Saussurean semiotics. On the level of language is the signifier, which he calls meaning, and behind it the signified, which he calls concept. The sign is the "associative total" of these two terms (*Mythologies* 114-17). Myth functions simultaneously and adjacent to the system of language. Its signifier occupies the place of the sign in the first order, a position he renames "form," and behind this, again, is the signified, or mythic concept. In this system, Barthes identifies the sign ("associative total") as "signification" in order to distinguish it from "sign" in the level of language. To demonstrate the system, Barthes describes his encounter with a particular photograph showing a "young Negro in a French uniform . . . saluting with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolor" (*Mythologies* 116). Its "meaning" signifies "that France is a great empire, that all her sons, without color discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag" (*Mythologies* 116). The sign, or associative total, of these is a message concerning French colonialism and militariness: "the presence of the signified through the signifier" (*Mythologies* 116). When Barthes reads the same image as myth, gaps occur in signification. In myth, the signifier is now simply "form": "the meaning leaves its contingency behind; it empties itself, it becomes impoverished, history evaporates, only the letter remains" (*Mythologies* 117). The signified, or mythic concept, is the "motivation which causes the myth to be uttered. . . . French imperialism drives behind the myth" (*Mythologies* 118). Through the

concept, the Negro is "deprived" of his history, "changed into gesture[]" (*Mythologies* 122). The end result of myth is what Barthes calls "depoliticized speech" (*Mythologies* 143) which he explains thus:

In the case of the soldier-Negro, for instance, what is got rid of is certainly not French imperialism . . . ; it is the contingent, historical, in one word, *fabricated* quality of colonialism. Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact. . . . [I]t gives [human acts] the quality of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible. (*Mythologies* 143)

Barthes' definition is particularly useful for determining how political, historical, reality is distorted by myth in the cartoons. If, for example, I apply such a reading to a cartoon entitled "Miss Canada's Rescuer" (figure #5), I resolve that, in the first order of signification, the signifier (meaning) reads: Miss Canada flees Uncle Sam's henchmen; she then finds protection in Sir John A. Macdonald and in the British lion. The signified, or concept, indicates that Canada should be wary of America's designs, and will protect itself from American manifest destiny with a strong national policy and imperial ties to Britain. The sign or "associative total" of signifier and signified says "herein lies Canada's national and imperial destiny." However, melodrama--the Manichean dynamic told in broad, gestural strokes--the masculine gaze and male-identifying relations guarantee the mythic proportions of the image. For it is in this simple narrative of rescue

that Canada and its imperial destiny are naturalized: "under the mythical inversion, the quite contingent foundations of the utterance become Common Sense, Right Reason, The Norm, General Opinion, in short the *doxa*" (Barthes, *Image* 165). While this myth comports itself as an "essence," or a "norm," what, then, has been naturalized?

The precise ways in which forms of national and imperial ideology have entered the public domain and consciousness are hiding, as are the politics driving the utterance and so is the historical woman behind the image of woman in her allegorical body. Rather than an historical, political process, then, Canada's national aims are *faits accomplis*. What we see in the body of the woman--Miss Canada--is the nation, the body politic. But, what is clear from a mythographic reading is that a gap, a falsification, exists between the nation and the historical, capitalist nation-state. Graeme Turner, who reasons through this "falsification" in an orderly and summary manner, describes such discourse as "legitimated by nature rather than problematized by history" (*British* 205). We understand from the terms of melodrama and identifying relations that the viewer being constructed is the male national subject. Without the critical tools to decipher myth, the viewer does not have access to the fabrication or construction of either the nation or national subjectivity. The process of distortion works in much the same way as melodrama hides capitalism's *laissez-faire* morality in domestic sanctity.

This image of the domestic--the familiar, the homely, the everyday--is a vital segué to Freud's term, *heimlich*, which, when its definitions and usage are considered, also comes to mean its opposite, *unheimlich*: "on the one hand, it means that which is familiar and congenial, and on the other, that which is concealed and kept out of sight" (Freud 375). The feeling of familiarity with some object or scene may have an attendant

feeling that is unsettling or disturbing; conversely, that which is new may stir familiar feelings or images. This sensation, which Freud calls "the uncanny," is merely the return of the repressed: "something familiar and old-established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression" (394). National ideology fashions a familiar home space in the figure of Miss Canada; however, thinly veiled in that *heimlich* image is its secretive, barely concealed counterpart: the *unheimlich*. At the point of this uncanny, disjunctive rupture, where the two terms meet, lies the nation's (repressed) history, including its gradual appropriation of land, its social and political inequities and antagonisms, its patriarchal structures and institutions: in short, its struggle to take shape in both a material and an ideological sense. The terms *heimlich* and *unheimlich*, then, resonate in a way profoundly similar to Barthes' conception of myth. Both offer ways to explain the attempt to de-politicize, to sterilize, the nation space. This covert, masked function is the ideological work performed by an allegorical image such as Miss Canada. It is perhaps surprising, and a little ironic, that a political cartoon is, in fact, *de-politicized* in this way. I prefer to characterize politics in the cartoons as being re-directed or re-imagined, but not absent. Miss Canada's attendance upon and association with political figures means that the political realm drives the events and occasions for the cartoons while her role is once removed from sordid politics. Melodrama insists on the set piece of fully realized good and evil, a template that shields the cartoon from material, historical reality, shrouding it in innocence and refracting politicization. Melodrama, male specularization and narratives that enshrine an Oedipal trajectory (and its concomitant maternal-feminine) are the means by which the myth of "nation" circulates in these cartoons. Through these conditions of vision, nothing could be more "natural" than the

allegory of Miss Canada. A mythographic reading exposes the gaps in signification, urging the viewer to define more discretely the contextual circumstances that operate behind the myth, forming the masculine national subject and circumscribing the feminine one.

This methodology adjusts the lens through which the visible acquires meaning. It will be used to test meaning in close readings of the cartoons, illustrations, literary images, photographs and film and may be looked upon as a standard for assessing how these images mean. The chapters to follow reflect a panoply of contexts, circumstances and angles from which to view Miss Canada as an allegory of nation. Chapter one will situate Miss Canada within the contexts of graphic satire and iconography of womanhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and North America. Advertisements, imperial exhibition posters and sketches such as the "Gibson Girl" provide evidence of a culture of visual display which focalizes on women. How does Miss Canada fit within this culture of display? Do different incarnations of her speak to one another in particular ways? What ideological purpose does she serve when her image is that of a young coquette, Uncle Sam's sweetheart or a spurned lover? Evidently these versions satirize the standard, morally upright, idealized and classically influenced versions of Miss Canada as Britannia's daughter and mother of the nation. There is a certain political currency in her moral rectitude: as a moral icon she can define, demarcate and lead the nation. What happens when she transgresses moral codes? Chapter two reveals how this particular allegory of woman masks flash points of crisis and social division in a bid to represent Canada as an integrated and homogeneous nation-space. Examining a series of historical and political events from the Washington

Treaty of 1871 until the period following World War I, chapter two assesses where and how history and the state are dampened and occluded by Miss Canada's ubiquity and moral exemplarity in the cartoons. Chapter three examines Miss Canada's literary counterparts in patriotic literature of the period, showing how she is embedded in cultural norms. In patriotic poems, didactic plays for schoolchildren and in Sara Jeannette Duncan's 1908 novel, *Cousin Cinderella*, Miss Canada, a familiar allegory from visual representations, functions as a national icon from the standpoint of the pedagogical feminine. While the same themes of moral exemplarity and legitimacy appear in the literary examples, they are inflected with a pedagogical urge to school the nation in its performance of national subjectivity. Chapter four examines the more recent cultural inheritance of Miss Canada. A feminized, allegorized home space is seldom invoked in national imagining except, for many contemporary women writers, in terms of forays into and authorization over a feminized landscape, which is not the same thing as a female embodiment. It is not surprising that the allegorical Miss Canada fades from political cartoons once women gain some political agency in the form of suffrage and personhood. Nonetheless, her image is retained differently in photographs and live-action films of the beauty pageant where she comports herself as a sexualized, commodified object-on-display. Rather than an ideal based on the nation's moral imperative, she becomes an embodiment signaling the nation's productivity. As an historical, flesh-and-blood woman, she confounds the mythic aspects of allegory, and her image strains under the paradox of containment and excess. Chapter four will come to terms with her disappearance and posit reasons why Canada is seldom invoked in terms of gendered

cartoon allegory. Since allegory demands homogeneity and containment, it is no longer a viable figure with which to imagine nation, yet it endures in a variety of forms.

Chapter 1

A Cult of Beauty, the Ideal and the Domestic Regulative Function of Miss Canada
as National Allegory

Miss Canada's entrance onto the cartoon stage in the nineteenth century is neither accidental nor idiosyncratic. Her persistent image is both historical, in the sense that ideals of the feminine and female iconographic imagery have anticipated her debut, and timely, in the sense that she appears at an important juncture in Canada's gradual and complex shift from colony to dominion to nation. The vocabulary of her representation chronicles these changes in identity while it also indicates a simultaneity in the stages of nationhood. Her image is stable in that she is easily recognizable and understood as "Canada," but slippery in that her status as dominion or nation may change to accommodate the historical references occasioned by a particular cartoon. While chapter two will develop more discretely how her image masks the tensions of Canada's national status, and how, and to what end, her image is an ideological construct, this chapter will map out how Miss Canada performs a regulative function for the dominion and nation. The term regulative, which I have derived from Mark Hallett's phrase "hegemonic regulative model," is a key, governing concept upon which representational ideals--historical, physiological and moral--hinge. The field of the domestic and the national belong to the category of the ideal and they too are regulative. Miss Canada is a domestic representation, yet, as an allegorical figure clearly designated as Canada, she invokes the national. I am interested in the ways in which the domestic and the national are imbricated and, more particularly, how commodification and the commodity fetish get represented in ideals of the domestic and national. It is through the lens of the

commodity, especially the domestic commodity, that one can glimpse how the domestic and the national are deeply enmeshed and mutually sustaining. The ideals to which Miss Canada belongs, including the domestic and national, determine *how* she is regulative.

In order to demonstrate this regulative function, my aim in the first part of this chapter is to indicate, through examples from visual and print culture, how she belongs to what I call the "cult of the ideal." Historical and contemporary precedents help to shape the ways that cartoonists have conceived of Miss Canada, whether in her classical or more modern incarnations. To begin, I will show how a cult of ideal beauty, reiterated in everyday media print culture, suggests that beauty ideals are compulsory and, hence, regulative. Ideals of beauty and deportment cut a wide swath, in all forms of print and visual media, from items in women's pages in newspapers, to letters to the editor, to popular prints, to advertisements and imperial trade posters. Indeed, print culture was as much implicated in creating a culture of visual display as was visual representations. Next I will trace the historical precedents for national female allegories and nationally inflected ideals of beauty and beauty's correlative, exemplary moral behaviour. As the repository for national imagining, Miss Canada belongs to an historical complement of female allegories, so I believe it is imperative to assess how she correlates with similar allegories found in European and North American visual representations. Moreover, as she is the symbolic mother of Canadian sons, her morality must be peerless, so I intend to make clear the connection between beauty and morality. Since domesticity and the rise of the commodity figure so prominently in the lives of nineteenth-century women generally, and in images of national female allegories more specifically, I will then examine how Miss Canada is implicated accordingly. This section will prepare a foundation for the

final segment of the chapter wherein I show how deeply satiric cartoons, dialectically positioned against more "beautiful," polite, modest versions of Miss Canada found in mildly satiric cartoons and in other non-satiric illustrations,²⁴ vex the ideals but do not subvert their authority entirely. Representations of ideal women provide a template for polite versions of Miss Canada, versions which prove resilient to highly satiric examples. Graphic satire's deleterious attempts to subvert authority notwithstanding, Miss Canada's regulative function prevails in the interests of a stable, normalized, homogenized national image.

Print culture is implicated in constructing and disseminating beauty ideals. What we learn from a typical article from the women's pages in a Toronto newspaper is the degree to which these ideals are a compulsory aspect of womanhood. In a series appearing from January through February 1901, *Toronto Saturday Night* ran articles written under the stylized pseudonym "Chevalier" entitled "The Perfect Woman." Each of these articles concentrates on a single, disembodied feature of a woman's anatomy, determining the ideal in its every aspect, under such titles as "Her Eyes," "Her Figure," "Her Hands and Feet." Through praise and didactic locutions the reader learns that "the perfect woman's strongest point in features is her eyes . . ."; however, "given a perfect head of hair, eloquent eyes and a beautiful mouth, a woman may be utterly spoiled and 'demodée' by an angular, awkward or 'obese shape' (7). Chevalier finishes the series by rhapsodizing on the perfect hand which

. . . must be warm enough to suggest bright vitality, firm enough to indicate will and character, light enough to seem the touch of an angel's wing, and strong enough to hold a heart in its gentle grasp. Such a hand

has the perfect woman. With such a hand she blows you a kiss from her perfect lips, flashing you a glance from her wondrous eyes, tipping you a bow of her queenly head, with a gracious bending of her perfect form, as she steps with light and buoyant feet into the land of the Ideal! (7)

The articles appear on the women's pages, yet the address is clearly to a male: lured, entranced, besotted with or victimized by the "perfect woman." The address pins the female reader--the "real" audience--at one point on an obligatory triangle: she is positioned in relation to the other two points of view, one being the imaginary ideal created by the narrator, the other the imaginary consumer of the visual ideal, a male spectator. Emphasis on "perfect" and "ideal" suggests expectations of beauty and deportment far beyond what the average woman might achieve, yet "perfect" and "ideal" are presented without irony. The article shows not only that ideals are in evidence notwithstanding shifting tastes, but also that beauty ideals belong to a compulsory femininity determining how women are looked at by both themselves and others. If such standards were foisted upon real women from everyday media, then we can assume that mass culture will have naturalized and reproduced ideals of beauty found in art, advertising, illustrations and, in the case of Miss Canada, cartoons. The compulsory, prescriptive tone in an article such as the one described attests to the regulative function of representations of beauty.

Indeed, messages concerning beauty's importance in women's lives in late nineteenth- early twentieth-century North America could be found in articles and books which were arbiters of taste and style, but also increasingly in advertisements for beauty products. In 1852, *Godey's Lady's Book* proclaimed that "it is woman's business to be

beautiful" (qtd in Banner 10). Advertisers reprise this compulsory tone decades later when, for example, an advertiser in *Saturday Night* (1917) instructed women that "a woman's looks have more to do with her success and popularity than any art or accomplishment" (qtd. in Mawhood 48). Although women were entering nursing, teaching and clerical professions, "these images were rarely if ever presented either in the reading matter or in advertisements to promote the sale of commodities" (Fisher 232). In her study of advertising directed at Canadian women in the early twentieth century, Rhonda Mawhood determines that advertisements followed certain themes, the "strongest" of which were

modernity; beauty as a natural feminine interest or duty; the benefits of science or, more generally, human control over nature; beauty as an avenue of class mobility; and the possibility of attracting a man by improving one's physical appearance.

(45)

Articles written for a female audience and advertisements aimed at that same audience presented a reasonably united front when it came to beauty ideals. Their interdependence is perhaps not surprising, since both the press and its advertisers depended heavily on consumer culture in a growing capitalist market economy in order to sell newspapers or the products advertised therein. Elaine Fisher comments on this relationship between newspapers and magazines and advertisers:

The predominantly male-edited women's magazine industry, whose very existence relied upon advertising, exhibited the identical ethos that jibed with an industry capable of conjuring phantom females, and whose success depended on

selling women on images prescribed not by women themselves but by a predominantly male power group desperate to establish a consumer society. (232)

Whether with journalistic flair or an authoritative air, both articles and advertisements employed language emphasizing compulsory beauty and femininity. Aimed at strengthening a white middle-class consumer ethos, such compulsory dicta were powerfully regulative in their goals and effects.

Equally appealing and persuasive were visual examples of female beauty found in newspaper and magazine illustrations. The purpose of these idealized, pre-Raphaelite-inspired images is unclear, but since few are attached to articles and none to advertisements, it is likely that consumption was geared toward the object in the illustration, the idealized woman in the scene. Pleasant, idyllic scenes such as "The Peacemaker" (1894) and "Sweet September" (1894) from the *Montreal Star* or "Autumn Whispers," "Contentment" and "On Life's Threshold" from the *Montreal Standard* (1910) (figures #11 through #15) depict ethereal refinement and idealized proportions far removed from real urban women--even those from advantaged and leisured echelons of society would not find themselves there. The illustrations marked occasions, seasons, states of being and milestones but in such a vague, fluid and ornamental manner that they can only be seen to reproduce ideals for the sake of the ideals themselves. Dissemination of these popular images in magazines and newspapers was a customary means of staging beauty ideals.

The popular press routinely afforded a steady barrage of ideals by which women were to measure and ameliorate their beauty and comportment, but literary publications also provided standards of beauty. No representation of beauty existed independently of

other cultural forms: all were inter-related and inter-informed. A woman admonished by standards from a newspaper or magazine article or advertisement might be similarly, if perhaps implicitly, compared to a female character in a contemporary novel or to an impossibly ideal woman in a poem. Despite Sara Jeannette Duncan's assertion in 1886 that fictional heroines no longer fit a standard of beauty and female accomplishment which prizes "golden hair" or "ebon locks" and "Oriental landscapes in Berlin wool" ("Saunterings" 771) but perform instead as "intelligent agents" who "show themselves as they are, not as a false ideal would have them" (772), a cursory overview of fictional characters shows that ideals are difficult to escape. In her novel, *A Daughter of Today* (1894), Duncan's heroine Elfrida Bell, who is admittedly not without faults, blows herself an admiring kiss in the mirror because "it was such a pretty face, and so full of the spirit of Rosetti and the moonlight, that she couldn't help it" (22). In her short story "The Heir Apparent" (1905), the character of Ida, a sympathetic protagonist, is shown to the narrator in a photograph which "was a fortunate portrait; it yielded Miss Chaumier's personality as well as her beauty" (87). Duncan's characters may have brains, wit and personality, but their achievements are set off by attractive packaging. Even Pearl Watson, Nellie McClung's feisty young suffrage character from her series ending in *Purple Springs* (1921) is allowed "glowing cheeks" (51) and eyes full of "brightness" (53). In the colonial adventure novel by Harold Bindloss entitled *Delilah of the Snows* (1908), love interest Grace Coulthurst "made a sufficiently attractive picture as she stood with the white clover at her feet and the glow of the West upon her face" (2). Hetty Ingleby, who plays the generous, patient, long-suffering girl who gets her man in the end, is blessed of a "pretty figure" (16).

Poetic examples are even more fulsome in their praise of feminine ideal beauty. In "Three Sonnets"--"The Maiden" (1887), Arthur Weir paints a saccharine image of a young girl:

The melody of birds is in her voice,
 The lake is not more crystal than her eyes,
 In whose brown depths her soul still sleeping lies.
 With her soft curls the passionate zephyr toys
 And whispers in her ears of coming joys.
 Upon her breast rosebuds fall and rise,
 Kissing her snowy throat, and lover-wise
 Breathing forth sweetness till the fragrance cloy. (111)

In similarly rapturous verse, F. Howard Annes writes of "The Girl of Today" (1895): "bright eyed, red-lipped / lissome and fair / " as he wonders at "the fascination / Of woman's beauty" (358). Notwithstanding the inroads women were making in education and careers, beauty ideals clung tenaciously to literary and other cultural expressions. In the words of one woman commentator in 1890,

ideals, however superior to what we see in the world that surrounds us, are inevitably composed of the materials wherewith it furnishes us. In our boldest flights of imagination, we can soar only to worlds made of some combination of elements selected from that which we live. (Coutts 569)

The raw materials shaping images of the ideal in popular press and literary culture became that "combination of elements" to which Coutts refers. Given this cult of the ideal, it is not surprising that cartoon images of Miss Canada reflect beauty standards. As

the example in figure #16 shows, Miss Canada could be quite alluring and resplendent drawn in a decadent pose with her hair and lips reminiscent of Pre-Raphaelite beauty.

The reach of this culture is indeed broad and normative--so much so, in fact, that the cult of the ideal was self-sustaining and regulative.

Beauty ideals derive from and are reinforced by the ways in which women have been allegorized. While these renderings are symbolic, they nevertheless set enduring hegemonic standards. Since Miss Canada belongs to a category of allegorical female embodiment, I would like to examine historical precedents for beauty's national character. In *The Age of Caricature* (1996), Diana Donald notes that a visual vocabulary of allegorical images was extant for at least two centuries in European Reformation propaganda by the time artists in the eighteenth century began to use these sets of images for political purposes:

These were personifications such as Fortune and Justice; rides to hell, devils and monsters; symbolic devourings and purges; animal allegories; processions and other figural friezes, mock triumphs, deathbeds and funerals; balances, ships and trees; social inversions (the 'topsy-turvy' world) and ritual humiliations of the great. The national emblems which gained unprecedented popularity in the new age--Britannia and the symbols of other European countries, the British lion, Magna Charta and the rest--were assimilated into these traditional schemata, and composed in elaborate tableaux. (47)

Marina Warner dates Britannia much further back, to her appearance on Roman coins; however, she notes that Britannia was mainly shown vanquished by her Roman captors (46). She was revived in the seventeenth century and, in the process, altered from what

Warner calls an "inert" and "rather characterless goddess" (46) to a more familiar figure when she came to be "associated with patriotism, especially after 1672, when the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew appeared on her shield" (46). Audiences began to see Britannia more frequently in graphic culture by the eighteenth century, especially in cartoons by James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and George Cruikshank (Warner 47). The contexts of her placement and the stylistic terms of her image changed from the allegorical frieze (figure #17) in 1763 where she is one among many figures, to a pared down engraving by Thomas Rowlandson dated 1792 (figure #18) where she, along with her accoutrements of power and tradition--a helmet and shield, the staff of liberty, a "captured" Phrygian cap, the symbol of liberty but also of dangerous French republicanism, both the *Magna Carta* and the British lion and a navy vessel indicative of her naval power--is the focal point of the sketch. In addition to her symbolic association with the rule of law, power and tradition, she is defined as Justice since she holds the scales. The national qualities listed in the print's caption--"Religion. Morality. Loyalty." etc.--sharply contrast the terms of French liberty--"Atheism. Perjury. Rebellion. etc."--seen below the opposing image of Marianne as a blood-thirsty Medusa. Association between positive national attributes and the image of Britannia, shown in explicit terms in the Rowlandson drawing, eventually became sutured together and implicitly understood by a viewing audience.

Gradually, Britannia's image became more feminized and beautified throughout the nineteenth century as she began to represent everything that is ideal in British traditions and national character. Her form, in keeping with the image of Victorian motherhood, was softened and enhanced somewhat in the process, as she adopted the role

of the nation's mother and its moral centre, but she maintained vestiges of classical raiment or martial accessories all the same. Thus the nineteenth century saw an interesting splicing of a soft, motherly, domestic image with trappings of military prowess. John Tenniel, famous for his illustrations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and for his long association with *Punch*, is one of the artists who began to mold the image of Britannia, synthesizing her with Victorian motherhood (figure #19). As the Imperial mother, not just the mother of Britons themselves, Britannia must retain her regal bearing so that she could be seen to guide and oversee a host of other allegorical female figures representing either colonies or even colonized portions within Britain itself. A good example of her regal femininity and her centrality in this cast of female icons can be seen in a 1774 painting by John Dixon (figure #20). As late as 1914 her well-shaped form was draped expansively as she appealed to Peace--also idealized and pleasingly attired in folds of loose fabric--to help settle unrest in Ireland (figure #21). This cartoon by Bernard Partridge demonstrates that, despite the threat of war hanging ominously over Europe, the image of Britannia as a feminine ideal endures. While John Bull stands in for the common Briton in cartoons depicting the seamier side of British politics at home, Britannia invokes the sanctity of British traditions and a sense of rightful place at the head of her many dominions.

It is this lineage of Britannia that nineteenth-century Canadian cartoonists inherit. Unmistakable features of Miss Canada's deference to Britannia are her classically inspired beauty, bearing, moral virtue and, of course, various paraphernalia denoting her status as classical allegory: the sword, shield, helmet or laurel, sandals, drapery. Distinguishing accoutrements that mark her as specifically Canadian range from a simple

label on a headpiece, belt or hemline, a garland of maple leaves or shield adorned with maple leaves or a cornucopia brimming with typically "Canadian" trade products such as wheat, fish, apples and the like. Her "sister" counterparts in pre-federated Australia were Miss New South Wales, Victoria and Miss South Australia until a composite Australia emphasized Australia's hopes for an international role (figure #22), stirrings of Republicanism and, finally, federation (figure #23). These female allegories share many similar traits with Miss Canada: youth, beauty, classical attire and an air of moral sanctity. Like Miss Canada, Miss Australia lends civility and sophistication to a country otherwise depicted as violent and unruly (figure #24). Miss Canada's appearance in cartoons may be read as a "natural" and legitimate legacy because of the filial relationship between her, Britannia and Britannia's other colonial offspring. Cultural, economic and political ties to Britain and Empire were a significant part of Canadian experience. Miss Canada clearly belongs in a direct line of descent from Britannia; this lineage determines Miss Canada's colonial and dominion status and, in time, her claim to nationhood. Many cartoon images of daughter and mother together accent this intimate relationship.

I emphasize how widely ranging and deeply embedded female national allegories were from the eighteenth century on in both Europe and the United States. Images of France take various forms from Marianne or *La Republique* around the time of the revolution and after to "Liberty," in, for example, Delacroix' famous painting entitled *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), to simply "France" in this example of an 1831 lithograph by Jean-Ignace Granville and Eugène Forest (figure #25). By the time of the bourgeois revolution of 1830, the use of *La Republique* declined as republican ideals fell

out of favour. Honoré Daumier, who remained true to many Republican ideals of the previous century, continued to depict France as *La Republique* until at least the mid-nineteenth century, as figure #26 (1871) shows. I have yet to discover an example of Britannia, or Miss Canada for that matter, with bared breasts or the slipped *chiton*. Nevertheless, European examples of this tendency abound. This very stylized image of Frau Austria, à la Aubrey Beardsley and the *Yellow Book*, in figure #27 (1911) indicates that the slipped *chiton* was still common until the first quarter of the twentieth century. Partial nudity points to artists' (and their audiences') proclivity to reproduce (and consume) sexualized, commodified bodies in these allegories, but it also signals the symbolic, rather than real, material and politically efficacious value of women. Explaining the feminized re-membering of the body politic following the figurative and literal dis-memberment of the King's body in revolutionary France, Joan B. Landes contends that "whereas women might continue to receive honors in republican festivals en masse, their representation as abstract beings within republican imagery affirmed the more indirect, passive role to which they were increasingly being assigned in the public sphere of the democratic republic" (112).²⁵ Marina Warner points out that had women in France achieved a portion of the *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* promised by the revolution, perhaps female allegory might have fallen out of currency, or, at the very least, been fully clothed in national iconographic images (292). Warner also remarks on how, "from the Amazon to Marianne, the female body's bounty and its ardour, often denoted by the bare breast, has been seen to possess the energy a society requires for that utopian condition, lawful liberation" (293). In her discussion of Daumier's use of female allegory, Elizabeth

C. Childs makes observations that are strongly reminiscent of Warner's; moreover, her comments apply broadly to all allegorical representation, whether clothed or not:

Women were excellent candidates for these ideated roles, in part because Daumier's audience could not confuse them with the real players in world politics, who were primarily men. . . . Daumier did not support the demands of women for increased political rights. Because of their forced exclusion from the political arena, women's appearance in political satire was unexpected. Their mere presence signaled that the caricature had abandoned the sphere of literal human action and had moved into a symbolic realm. (Powell and Childs 127)

Female allegory is ideational and its history is not one of historical women, but of a history of signs linked temporally to one another through endless substitutions. Allegory proclaims history *qua* history. But, with the exception of demonstrating a nation's imagined characteristics--such as moral exemplarity in the case of Britannia and Canada--through clothing, contemporized features or the handling of companion figures who may represent historical personages, female allegory is at least one remove from the history of women. Instead, these images invoke the virtuousness, legitimacy, containment and perpetuity of the national.

Another figure in the panoply of national icons that bears resemblance to Miss Canada and performs a similar regulative function is America, also known by the monikers "Liberty" and, more commonly, "Miss Columbia," or simply "Columbia." Stages of her depiction include the "Indian Princess" until approximately the 1780s, when she was replaced by the neoclassical "Plumed Goddess" known as America. "Liberty" makes her appearance at about the same time; she is typically shown "in profile

as a beautiful young woman with loose hair floating in the wind and carrying the liberty pole and Phrygian cap over her shoulder" (Fleming 13). Finally, Columbia, often portrayed draped in the flag or carrying Liberty's paraphernalia, emerges as the most enduring representation of America, persisting beyond the "Indian Princess" and "Liberty," perhaps because of her association with Columbus whose discovery was regarded as a defining moment for the young nation. In the nineteenth century, Liberty and Columbia become "fused," yoking "in this image of the United States the idea of a great historic mission with a great moral Ideal"²⁶ (Fleming 19).

In Canadian cartoons Miss Canada and Columbia often appear as close female friends (figure #2 "The Right Kind of Valentine" 1871) or as cousins (figure #28 "The New Belle" 1903). Also an idealized emblem, America is depicted variously as a bold, shapely beauty, sternly intent upon marshalling forces in the struggle for liberty, as in figure #29 from a Civil War propaganda poster of 1861, or as a statuesque image of "Liberty" leading American troops to Europe in a drawing from 1917 (figure #30). In keeping with America's image of itself as fiercely independent, Columbia is frequently depicted as Amazonian in proportions: she is robust, tall and emphatic in her gestures. Most images of Liberty or Columbia show her in classical, martial regalia carrying a standard in an attitude of leading her people. Her classical proportions recall versions of Britannia, but her attitude is unmistakably defiant. That she exists in a symbolic realm is clear from her idealized proportions and demeanour, but, like Miss Canada, she takes a more realistic form as ideals of womanhood change. As I will later show, Columbia becomes a more "regular gal" by the late nineteenth century; however, the classically inspired, Amazonian Columbia remains in artists' and viewers' imaginations as versions

of her are used in early twentieth-century advertisements and propaganda posters, connecting her to domestic commodity and to the suffrage movement (figure #31 and #32).

Beauty's national character is made obvious through ciphers like Britannia, Miss Canada, Marianne or *La Republique* and Liberty or Miss Columbia, but Canada's individuation and national distinction take shape in print as well as visual modes. Mawhood remarks on how beauty came to be "tinged" with nationalism, as evinced in the following passage found in *Canadian Magazine* (1913):

... if the Canadian girl or woman has not conspicuously the beauty which is only skin deep, she engages the senses by her well-begotten physique and form; and the imagination, by the spiritual expressiveness of her face and movements. (qtd. in Mawhood 48)

The obligatory and distinctly national characteristics of beauty are also in evidence in an article by Eva Dodge in *Saturday Night* (1889) entitled "Canadian Girls." The author describes her meeting with an Englishman who soliloquizes on the charm of Canadian girls who "strike such a happy medium in so many things where the extremities would be fatal, in mannerisms, habits, dressing, etc." (7). The "extremities" he describes are accorded to English, French, German and American women. The English are "dowdy," the French exude a "flavour of naughtiness," the German lady is "ungraceful and uninteresting," the American, "a poor imitation of the Frenchwoman, with a little more impudence about her actions" (7). In an article dated 1896, Archibald MacMechan adds his voice to an admiring chorus, extolling the assets of "Canadian" girls:

. . . it would be easy to show more pretty faces and fine figures any afternoon on King Street, Toronto, than on any street in the continent. . . . The Canadian girl is sensible, she is athletic, she strikes the happy mean between the stiffness of the English girl and the flirtatiousness of the Americane [sic]. . . . As a sweetheart she is ideal, and when she marries she makes the best of wives and mothers.

(MacMechan 1000-01).

The nation began to carve out an image for itself by imagining, cataloguing and circumscribing the singular charms of its women. The views of "Canadian girls," in a manner similar to the effect of pervasive female allegories, suggest coherence between women, beauty and nation *and* the way in which everyday print and visual media propagate these ideals.

This powerful alignment of beauty, women and nation has received much scholarly attention in the past number of years owing to the work of such writers as Lois Banner, Martha Banta, Marina Warner and Ann McClintock. I draw on the work of Banner and Banta significantly in the ensuing discussion because they both look at shifts in the narratives of beauty and ideal images of women in the United States, paying close attention to the connection between these images and national ideology. Some of the "types" these writers discuss in the American context--particularly the "Gibson Girl" and the "New Woman"--compare with images in Canadian media. To a certain extent, then, there was a pan-North American set of images that coalesce to the point of being recognizable to audiences in both countries.

Banner chronicles the shifts and influences of beauty in the United States through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, recognizing that though versions of beauty

overlapped in style and emphasis far more than any single "type" reigned, there was always an ideal in fashion. The association of women with beauty may be traced to the classical age (Banner 10), but the distinct and deliberate connection between the curved line, the female body and beauty is attributed to William Hogarth in the eighteenth century, "who argued that a curved line was naturally more beautiful than a straight one" (Banner 10). According to Banner, this complex notion which prized the variegated over the regular in landscape "a half a century later . . . was being used to support the simple argument that the female body, provided naturally with more curves than the male's, was more beautiful" (10). Two beauty types that correspond chronologically and visually with both the classically styled and the tall, stately, athletic Miss Canada are what Banner has called the "voluptuous woman" and the celebrated "Gibson Girl." Banner argues that the former ideal, brought to America through the influence of the British music hall and perpetuated by American burlesque theatre, was replaced in the 1890s by Charles Dana Gibson's widely reproduced images of young women (5). While the classically styled, voluptuous Miss Canada does not disappear from cartoons, she shares the pages of newspapers and magazines with her modern counterpart. So ubiquitous was the Gibson Girl type, in fact, that one cartoon entitled "The Great Reciprocity Game: Her Move" referring to the reciprocity crisis of 1911, replicates a Gibson drawing exactly (figure #33 and #34). The parody lies in the recognition of the original and the incongruity of its new political context. In this cartoon version, the viewer witnesses a declarative connection between popular culture, the beauty ideal and national iconography.

The appearance of Miss Canada as a "regular gal" dressed in modern fashions speaks to a hegemonic, regulative model²⁷ in particular ways. Banner's understanding of the appeal of the "Gibson Girl" offers insight into what this type suggests:

Like many powerful cultural models, the Gibson girl seemed to represent a variety of styles. Contemporary feminists often saw her as a prototype of the "new woman." The blouses and skirts she wore for casual wear seemed in line with dress reformers, and the many scenes in which she was pictured at sports seemed to validate the aims of the advocates of exercise and athletics. In contrast to the typical woman of the day, wrote Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the Gibson girl was 'braver, stronger more healthful and skillful and able and free, more human in all ways.'

Indisputably tall, with long arms and legs, her body was clearly that of the natural and not the voluptuous woman. (156)

Although feminists like Gilman may have praised her physical virtues, Banner cautions that this girl "was rarely portrayed as a working or college woman" (156). Any reform that she represented was reflected in dress and demeanour, not in serious inroads into education or work. Thus, her role does not threaten the hegemonic regulative model; it merely complements it in ways that endorse a traditional feminine ideal within stable gender roles.

When Canadian cartoon artists combine political and social integrity and homogeneity with elements of modern dress and countenance, the result is a national icon that proclaims Canada's forward-looking, modern, urbane self-image. According to Paul Rutherford's account of the daily press in late nineteenth-century Canada, modernity was

a key concern and its "dogma" was shaped by "three certitudes: progress, nationality and democracy" (157). While these aspects of modernity were described and debated, class and gender were less flexible. Part of Canada's myth-making, argues Rutherford, lies in its "emphatic class bias . . . the new dominion was very much a bourgeois domain" (156). Thus Miss Canada exalts a middle-class ideal while her femininity is safely contained within comfortable precincts: this Miss Canada may be modern, but she does not push the boundaries of women's roles as sweetheart, wife, daughter or sister in a domestic milieu. In great measure, the modern, Gibson girl image is pictured in courtship scenes which guarantee Miss Canada's place in the biological order of things. Even when she flouts the conventions and terms of courtship by spurning her suitor, Uncle Sam, as she does in the reciprocity cartoons (figure #6), she merely delays, but does not deny, her biological destiny. While images of Miss Canada as the "modern" Gibson girl represent youth, freshness, modernity and promise, images of the fuller figured, classical beauty denote ties with history, tradition, strength and character. Neither replaces the other, however, because, as figure #35 shows, the classical hegemonic ideal can be found at the watershed of Canada's status as a modern, international participant following World War I.

The modern girl type after which many cartoons of Miss Canada were modeled bears strong resemblance to the New Woman. Martha Banta's reading of the shifts in ideals of womanhood that led to the composite New Woman in America makes for an interesting correlative. According to Banta, the staid "New England Woman" gave way to the "Beautiful Charmer"²⁸ whose beauty contrasted with severe and stern "New Women" models. Gradually, as proponents of the "New Woman" wished to ameliorate her image, and as the movement for greater athleticism in women gained ground, a

composite American girl took shape. She was beautiful, certainly, but she looked lively and intelligent and was most commonly seen in active poses: riding her bicycle, that modern contraption which signified mobility, athleticism, freedom (including freedom from dress restraints) and youth. She lost some of the gravity of the "New England Woman," some of the willful selfishness of the "Beautiful Charmer" and some of what may have been perceived as masculine severity, militancy and, worse, domestic ineptitude of the educated "New Woman," and was reincarnated as the following:

'America' was female, young, pretty, Protestant, and Northern European. She was the heiress of America's history as edited by the American Whigs. Her features were 'regular' and Caucasian. Her bloodline was pure and vigorous. That she might have 'nerves' and that her will was at times inconveniently strong, was, after all, to be expected of any physical or psychical type that represented the nation's own restlessness and independence of spirit. (Banta 91)

Aside from the "restlessness and independence of spirit" typical of the American girl, this woman is very like the one adopted by Canadian cartoon artists. While certainly playful and athletic, as the image in figure #36 illustrates, she was also pictured as more demure and less forthcoming than her American cousin (figure #28 "The New Belle" 1903). Clearly, the vast number of pictorial representations of women in North America had their impact on the culture's vision of womanhood and, indeed, on the nation's image of itself. This new type, whether in her American or Canadian incarnation, became part of each nation's iconography while neither exceeded the limits of the regulative.

Woman as moral exemplar is axiomatic in the Miss Canada cartoons. Even as a young girl, she holds the future of the dominion and the promise of its greatness in her potential to bear Canadian sons. In order to bear these sons, however, she must be of sound body, mind and character. The connection between fine shape and fine moral character was well established by centuries of phrenological and physiognomic studies and by Darwin's *Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection* in 1859.²⁹ Beauty, even the modern, athletic type, must go hand in hand with morality since both were the province of women. As Banta states, "it was common knowledge that ugly faces and unattractive manners meant the collapse of the basic American institutions of marriage, family, and home" (69). Through morality--especially in motherhood--women could redeem their state as a sub-species of (white) males.³⁰ Respectability, modesty and motherhood³¹ were guarantors of morality for women. Physiological health, moral health and motherhood and its influence on the future health of the nation within the Empire were deep concerns of social commentators in Canada as evinced by the following writer's admonitions:

The most beautiful and healthful women in the world are found in the realms of the British Queen. . . . Many American women grow old before their time, and their infants are proverbially puny. The influence of emotions on the secretions of the mother's breasts . . . becomes but little better than a slow poison, implanting the germs of physical and mental weakness--degeneracy, disease and death. To make the race beautiful, pure, strong and good, is the high and holy mission of MOTHERHOOD. ("Physiology," qtd. in Light and Parr 146-7)

Jingoistic national sentiment and racist injunctions are unmistakably part of this invocation to moral, physical and emotional health in motherhood.

Feminists and non-feminists alike had a stake in women's moral health. Lucy Bland notes that, "while feminists challenged medicine's biological reductionist view of women as little more than walking wombs, they appropriated a construction of femininity from religion, namely woman as morally pure" (91). Concurring with Bland's argument, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen state that "on the one hand women were the embodiment of spiritual purity; on the other, the purity was not intrinsic and had to be imposed" (101). However constructed or imposed, morality was ideal beauty's correlative, so that a fine, regular shape, a sense of style and deportment promised a fine character underneath. A culture of respectability, modesty and morality--even one amenable to the "New Woman," as long as she maintained her ties to these traditional maxims--is one which shaped the various renditions of Miss Canada. The reason her moral exemplarity can be seen to be tested in such cartoons as "Whither are we Drifting?" (figure #7) and "How Long is this Spree Going to Last?" (figure #8), as I will later illustrate, is precisely because of the moral legitimacy she invokes in all but these few, highly satiric depictions. In most cartoons, Miss Canada's steadying presence tempers moral turpitude associated with political wrangling.

The reach of the cult of the ideal extends to images of women on display as commodity in advertising and imperial trade posters and exhibition catalogues. In fact, the alignment of women, commodity, domesticity and nationhood is especially conspicuous in these types of representations. Images of women in advertising are not precisely the same things as images of Britannia or other female allegories in trade or

exposition posters, but they are linked in at least two respects: first, in the display of woman as commodity, and secondly, in the common, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century practice of casting a female allegorical embodiment in illustrations in order to legitimize and promote consumption of trade and consumer goods. While the figure of woman is still directly linked to the home as the site of domesticity, so too is the consumer product, increasingly advertised in newspapers and magazines where Miss Canada also appears. I will address the following questions in the forthcoming analysis of this range of images: what does it mean to view women on display as commodities, and how does this aspect of visual representation signify for Miss Canada in cartoons? How do selling the spectacle of industry, and colonization in trade and consumer goods through Britannia and Columbia affect how a viewer might read Miss Canada?

My precedent for the term commodity on display is Walter Benjamin's reinterpretation of Marx's definition of commodity's use, exchange and surplus values. In *Das Passagen-Werk*, Benjamin picks up on Marx's belief that exchange value of commodities obscures the labour by which objects are produced (Buck-Morss 81). Susan Buck-Morss also notes that

... for Benjamin, whose point of departure was a philosophy of historical experience rather than an economic analysis of capital, the key to the new urban phantasmagoria was not so much the commodity-in-the-market as the commodity-on-display, where exchange value no less than use value lost practical meaning, and purely representational value came to the fore. (81-82)

Images, especially those of woman because the viewer is exhorted to focus on her to the exclusion of all else, are the epitome of a commodity with only representational value.³²

Emphasis on looking (not touching, buying, using) brings the notion of utopian wish-images to the fore. Consumption of the good takes the form of looking. Miss Canada in cartoons may be described as a commodity on display for the following reasons: she is infinitely reproducible, thanks to technologies that allow for mass production of her image in a wide range of middle-class newspapers and magazines. In addition, this kind of exposure guarantees a broad viewing audience. Shierry Weber reminds us that reproducibility is key to the commodity system which

depends on illusion, principally the illusion of sameness. This illusion is aided by the fact that mass production robs objects of their unique historical existence. Commodities become phantasms and transform our experience into illusion, into a series of--shocking and repetitive--dream images. (267)

Furthermore, as a feminized embodiment, Miss Canada is reinforced as a sexualized object having only representational value. As I mentioned above, her political agency is symbolic, since women at this time had little real political subjectivity. Finally, as an embodiment of the Dominion of Canada she is connected to the modern, capitalist nation-state. During this period of late nineteenth-, early twentieth-century Canada, the country's financial, industrial base and state functions were expanding enormously.³³ In her own ingenuous, morally upright way, Miss Canada champions both the tradition of Empire and the ineluctable modernity (read progress) of the nation-state. The viewer is exhorted to consume on three fronts: first, the newspaper or magazine itself as a commodity; secondly, the goods displayed in advertisements throughout; and thirdly, the image of Miss Canada as domestic moral exemplar and national icon. In figure #37, Miss Canada's proportions in relation to the soldiers signify her as a national icon and a larger-than-life

spectacle, while her identification with a household consumer product unites the domestic with the national.

Any discussion of commodity, however, raises the spectre of the fetish, a symbolic concept whose Marxist and Freudian valence is useful and deserves mention here. If the Marxist interpretation of fetish is centred on absence, or lack of labour's inscription on a commodity, the Freudian explanation centres on excess of inscription, or on a misreading of signs that deny symbolic lack (originating in the castration threat or the paradox of woman as both lack and threat). Laura Mulvey finds the two versions of fetish complementary for their similarities as well as their differences, and for the social and psychic indexes they contribute to the concept of commodity. She remarks that "the obvious link between [Marxist and Freudian] concepts is that both attempt to explain a refusal or *blockage* of the mind, or a phobic inability of the psyche to understand a symbolic system of value within the social and psychic spheres" ("Some Thoughts" 8). Since production value is lost or, rather, no longer sought in capitalist systems, "commodity fetishism also bears witness to the persistent allure that images and things have for the human imagination and the pleasure to be gained from belief in imaginary systems of representation" (11). The Freudian fetish, on the other hand, "acts as a 'sign' in that it substitutes for the thing thought to be missing. The substitute also functions as a mask, covering over and disavowing the traumatic sight of nothing, and thus constructing phantasmatic space, a surface and what that surface might conceal" (11). The fact that both forms of the fetish invite or attract the gaze (12) makes the question of how the fetish resonates in terms of the cartoon image of Miss Canada worth examining. When woman-as-commodity and woman *with* commodity are seen as fetishized, they transform

seeking of knowledge into the adoption of belief, or, as Mulvey puts it, they "guard against the encroachment of knowledge" (12). All we are left with *is* image and the belief that the allegorical woman--sutured with and acting as object on display--is profoundly representative of needful things: Empire, dominion, domestic commodities or what have you. In point of fact, she displaces history or the *Real* and disavows lack at the same time. Precisely what she displaces or disavows is open for interpretation, but I suggest that Miss Canada is the very site and inscription of the growing capitalist nation-state while she simultaneously denies that inscription and disavows the trauma of her hybridity as daughter of Empire (in a *defacto* and a *dejure* sense) and mother of the nation. We know that she marks the place of the nation in that she stands in as a sign for it, yet she denies that inscription by the pretense or masquerade of a "natural," historically unambiguous image of ideal womanhood. Correspondingly, her disavowal takes the form of a sublimation: on her glossy surface we read white, Anglo-Saxon homogeneity, the dream of bourgeois hegemony and moral impunity, adumbrating the troubling fact of her own subservience within Empire and the problematics of gender, race and class. Like consumer products on display in a shop window, images of women--allegorical or otherwise--are part of the dream promised by capitalist modernity wherein all classes will (however erroneously) be conjoined in fulfillment of a bourgeois utopia. Miss Canada guarantees that the domestic and the national will be forever and mutually sustaining. That the domestic and the national are each inserted into the other's space makes the nation-space knowable, foreseeable and morally legitimate. The domestic space, in turn, is accorded a prominence and perpetuation as the place of the nation, the place where its future lies. Her connection to motherhood, morality and domesticity ensures that the

female figuration is always already a sign of reproductive capacity. It is her reproductive capacity which will symbolically people the nation.

Nowhere is the commodity on display experienced more acutely than at the sites and in the literature of the world fairs and imperial exhibitions. My aim in the discussion that follows is to illustrate how national allegories are tied to commodity and trade goods in images which champion the domestic and the national. The domestic, appearing inevitably with the idealized image of woman who is also on display, is the filter through which power and capital may be perceived. Because these images are fetishized, and for this reason function in terms of disavowal, they promote a murky, indistinct view indeed. As they do, they screen out power imbalances in colonial trade relations and in the histories of labour and capital. Beginning with the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, the fairs provided Europe and North America with profound spectacles of their own importance in industrial achievement, colonial power and commodity display. Susan Buck-Morss, writing of Benjamin's experience witnessing the debris and agglomeration of Paris world fairs, comments on their "phantasmagoric quality, a blend of machine technologies and art galleries, military cannons and fashion costumes, business and pleasure, synthesized into one, dazzling visual experience" (85). In his critique of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, Curtis M. Hinsley employs Benjamin's historical materialist perspective:

The world's fairs of high capitalism and imperialism were, Benjamin sensed, summary smothering acts of imposed historical interpretation. Seen from today, the industrial expositions constructed in North Atlantic national communities between 1851 and 1914 attract our attention primarily as assertions of power and

statements of desire. They were ephemeral phenomena, modern-day 'temporary towns.' . . . While they gave material expression to geopolitical, economic, and military relationships of power, the fairs obscured these relations by projecting ecumenical, utopian dreamscapes that evaded issues of power and domination even as they demonstrated power . . . (120)

What better way to advertise, and at the same time obfuscate, that power and desire than with images of women on display? Catalogues accompanying the exhibitions typically show one or a grouping of allegorical women in cover illustrations and in advertisements promoting domestic consumer products. In figure #38, the cover illustration for an "Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition" (1876) shows Columbia displaying evidence of her constitution and laws (the White House), and her transportation and industry to Britannia while a "lesser" female figure (possibly representing India) looks on. The hierarchy of power is apparent in the stature of the figures: Columbia's headdress makes her a shade taller than Britannia, while flanking the female figures are a genuflecting native male and an astonished black man gazing into the distance. Clearly, "civilization," in the form of industry and progress, is led by America. However, this scene of power is made to look simultaneously natural and symbolic through its female allegories. Similarly, in cover illustrations for the Latin-British Exhibition of 1912 (figures #39 and #40), Britannia dominates the picture (figure #39) with her majestic pose; meanwhile, her Latin sisters in recumbent poses display their hair and profiles to best advantage.

When scenes of progress and power are combined with commodity display in the advertising pages of these catalogues, the result is an unambiguous link between the

domestic, consumer products of industry in high capitalism and colonial trade.³⁴ As Benjamin would also argue, the scene invokes the excessive and overarching march of progress, that historiographic trajectory which leaves "real" material history--the history of the vanquished colonial subject and the stamp of working class labour--in its wake. Britannia appears in a legitimating function: she sanctions the power imbalance that a colonial trade relationship must necessarily entail. In figures #41, #42 and #43, advertising Thermos Flasks, Pierce and Duff's "household specialities" and Farrow's Bank in the "Festival of Empire" 1910 catalogue, the viewer is assured of the product's role in Empire building. The advertisement states explicitly that Thermos flasks have been used in The United Kingdom "by nearly all classes," in Canada "in the coldest wilds," in "the blazing sun of India" and in Africa for both "the heat of the day-time" and "the frosty nights." Pearce and Duff's products are "in daily use throughout the Empire." Farrow's Bank settles for an implied image of Empire, rather than an explicit message: Britannia, in full regalia, towers over the bank and fairly encircles it with her arm. On the subject of commodity spectacle and Empire, McClintock notes the broad range of products and the emphasis on spectacle in advertising:

Colonial heroes and colonial scenes were emblazoned on a host of domestic commodities, from milk cartons to sauce bottles, tobacco tins to whiskey bottles, assorted biscuits to toothpaste, toffee boxes to baking powder. Traditional national fetishes such as the Union Jack, Britannia, John Bull and the rampant lion were marshaled into a revamped celebration of imperial spectacle. (219)

If buying the product proffered by Britannia yields material rewards for the Empire, simply consuming the spectacle goes a long way to consolidating its symbolic power.

Britannia, Columbia or any other female national allegory displayed in commodity advertising, confers a universalizing, homogenizing value to the consumer goods. While the spectator's gaze is typically masculine, determined as such through a display of the female *as sexual difference*, when it comes to advertising, women observers play a distinct role in consumption. According to Russell Johnston, "it was widely presumed that most consumer goods were purchased by women. Commentators in the trade press estimated that anywhere from 70 to 90 per cent of household spending was done by the home-making female" (74). Since these goods are mostly domestic in nature, the home-space is entangled in the building of nation and, in the case of Britannia, Empire. The female audience, then, positioned as both consumer and *reproductive* producer of nation through birth and motherhood, plays a vital role in nation-building. Like the product itself, whether it is baking powder or thermos flasks, the female allegory's reproducibility offers comfort of a utopian ideal, an assurance of sameness and an intimate relationship with the domestic sphere through the female observer/consumer.

As a daughter of Britannia and figure in the "family" of Empire herself, Miss Canada is involved in this form of commodity spectacle. She plays a role in sanitizing and homogenizing the nation's image of itself, especially when she is pictured "selling" consumer products. The important point here is that she belongs to a larger system of colonial power, one that confers power on her to oversee and condone the expansion of Canada's nation space to include its North-West Territories as the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan by 1905. Canada--ever the imperial daughter--is nonetheless an expanding capitalist nation with increasing functions of a nation state. Like Britannia, Miss Canada serves a legitimizing function, and the space of her legitimacy extends from

the home to the nation and back again in an endlessly reinforcing circularity. Appearing as if autochthonously out of a sea of armed soldiers, Miss Canada sternly, proudly "Musters her Manhood," readying them for battle through the purchase and use of a domestic product: the Gillette Safety Razor (figure #37). In this advertisement, the space of the nation is expressed as a map of Canada framing the bottom half of the image. Miss Canada is contained by the map while she also embraces the bodies of the soldiers through her outstretched arm and her dominance over all other figures in the picture. The viewer is urged to consume the spectacle of Miss Canada, the legitimacy of the war itself and the consumer product she represents. In posters advertising recruitment and war efforts to garner support for war funds and household food rationing, she appeals to the obligatory nature of her colonial relationship (figures #44 and # 45 a and b). In a manner that is similar to how Britannia absolves commodity spectacle of colonial power imbalances, Miss Canada masks the war's inevitable violence and loss through symbolic, emotional appeals to motherhood, generosity and patriotic duty. She functions as a panacea for fear and an ideal for the nation's future. Appeals to motherhood and household economy bind the domestic field with the national interest, making Miss Canada and, by extension, Canadian motherhood, responsible for nation-building and national subjectivity. Miss Canada's role in advertising the nation through commodity spectacle is thus a powerful, regulatory one.

In order to test the regulatory function of womanhood in the "cult of the ideal" to which Miss Canada belongs adequately, I will situate images of her within the history of graphic satire. Graphic satire is the historical genre out of which political cartoons have emerged. While most cartoons display her as a moral exemplar--the counterpart to any

respectable beauty ideal--a few depict Miss Canada as a victim of lascivious interest or licentious behaviour. For instance, in "Whither Are We Drifting?" (1873 figure #7) and "How Long is This Spree Going to Last?" (1885 figure #8), two cartoons by J. W.

Bengough published in *Grip*, Miss Canada is physically and morally compromised. The former satirizes the Pacific Scandal, Prime Minister Macdonald's flagrant mishandling of the public trust in his receipt of funds from George Allan in return for railway contracts, and the latter plays on Macdonald's notorious alcohol abuse, conflating drunken revelry with a spending spree over the course of his tenure and particularly in the wake of the 1885 Northwest Rebellion. How must the spectator read the satire when the nation's body is handled so indelicately? Her morally scurrilous behaviour may be a scathing indictment, but its sharp contrasts to the more permanent "hegemonic regulative model" are fleeting. It may be useful to return to graphic satire's prolific history in eighteenth-century print and engraving culture to explain this particular rendering of Miss Canada.

In *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth*, Mark Hallett argues that eighteenth-century graphic satire situated itself in the wider scheme of graphic culture by engaging with and sometimes subverting an existing vocabulary of polite images found in a broad spectrum of readily available woodcut and engraved prints and paintings. Parodic etchings parried with 'normative' images, mocking their social or political subject matter by reinterpreting iconic signs, recognizable locations and other compositional elements in order to ridicule public and private behaviours. Because graphic satire engages with polite cultural referents, it sets itself in league with them and gains cultural legitimacy by association.³⁵ Hallett describes this relationship as dialectical and dialogic. It is possible, however, that through a "strategy of invocation and excess"

such as Hallett finds in a satiric portrait by George Bickham Junior, entitled "The Late P—m—r M—n—r" (c.1743), the "satire punctures the pretensions of the polite portrait" while the "iconoclastic print concurrently works to empower . . . precisely the kinds of representation that it seems to subvert" because the satiric version "depends for its own coherence" on the "hegemonic, regulative model" (10-11). This forth and back interdependency of satire with its referent characterizes the dialectical relationship of graphic satire with polite images.

Much may be learned from this example and applied to late nineteenth-century cartoons, but I will leave this lesson aside for the moment while I attend to the special case of Hallett's analysis of William Hogarth's series *The Harlot's Progress* (1732) (figure # 46) and *Gin Lane* (1751) (figure # 47), his scathing portraits of urban degeneracy. Because Hallett's reading of these prints deals particularly with the objectified, insalubrious and abject image of woman, it is especially instructive in the context of my study of Miss Canada. Responding to more traditional readings of the series as didactic narratives, Hallett presents his argument as a re-reading of *A Harlot's Progress*:

The series has to be seen, I shall argue, as part of a nexus of images and discourses in contemporary culture that dealt with the sexually commodified body of the prostitute and that oscillated between demonizing that body as an emblem of metropolitan corruption and dramatising its concurrent status as a fetishized site of urban erotics. If the *Progress* opens itself up to this doubled reading--as both a moralised and eroticized set of images--it also ironizes this process through satirical

play and humour: the moral axis of visual exchange is shown to be thoroughly adulterated by comic and obscene detail, and erotic fascination is compromised not only by the problematic figure of the prostitute, but by the surrogate voyeurs within the images, who are constantly targeted as butts of ridicule or condemnation. (100)

While the harlot's body may be seen as alternatively eroticized and demonized, the drunk and dazed mother in *Gin Lane* may be seen as "allegorical iconography of the suffering female body as an index of urban breakdown" (210). Hallett shows that *Gin Lane* is positioned within and against a range of images allegorizing the female body, most especially an engraving after a sculptural relief commemorating the Great Fire in London.³⁶ But the print is also situated within visual and print discourse surrounding the gin crisis of 1732 which culminated in "a notoriously unpopular, unworkable and ultimately short-lived piece of legislation" (210). Like *A Harlot's Progress*, *Gin Lane* presents dialectical images of the debased and the erotic by ensuring that the spectator glimpse the detail of a nearly naked female body being lowered into a coffin directly behind the scene's principal figure, the gin-crazed mother. Two principles raised by Hallett's critique will inform my reading of the Bengough cartoons: graphic satire's dialectical relationship with polite forms and satire's representation of the female body as both abject and reviled yet eroticized and commodified.

If Miss Canada is not pictured precisely as a harlot in the cartoons, certain details and gestural codes indicate that her decorum, and perhaps even her virtue, have been compromised. In "Whither Are We Drifting?," Miss Canada is supplicating under Macdonald, who pins her there in an attitude of conquest, shamelessly soliciting money

through the note on his "clean" outstretched hand. The viewer may indeed make the association between the taking of bribes and greasing of palms and prostitution: the prostrate female body invites this reading, in part because of an attitude of shame signaled by her hidden face, and because Miss Canada cannot quite touch the Holy Bible lying just out of reach. In the later cartoon, "How Long is This Spree Going to Last?," Miss Canada consorts with Macdonald in loose-limbed, drunken revelry, her eyes half-closed and looking off in a desultory fashion. She appears barefoot and unkempt, lifting her leg as if in step with Macdonald's dance. His arm embraces her, linking Miss Canada to him as his paramour. In both of these examples, Miss Canada is in a degraded state. The satire works by its perverse echo of polite images, particularly classical versions of Miss Canada where she appears as Britannia's daughter (figures #1 and #48). These normative images are satirical in their treatment of issues and political figures, but the female allegory remains unscathed. There is a certain standard of purity established through classical allegory, which connects Miss Canada temporally to mythological figures such as Athena and Nike and allegories such as Peace and Justice. Visual signs in the form of garments, sandals, headpiece, aegis, even, occasionally, a sword reprise an origin, source or historical antecedent with which Miss Canada is immediately connected. Her moral, authoritative currency is further enhanced by the appearance of Britannia, her "mother," who often stands by her side. The presence of Britannia signifies strong cultural, familial, economic, political and, indeed, racial ties with Britain--facts dictated by the very structure of the dominion, and principles shared by the majority of its citizens. I equate this version of Miss Canada to, in Hallett's words, the hegemonic regulative model against which unwholesome images are set in contrast. My reading of

these two cartoons hinges on this point. The models set by what I have described as the "cult of the ideal" in print and visual representations act as templates for cartoons that emphasize Miss Canada's purity, innocence, integrity and moral inviolability.

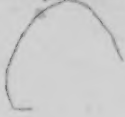
When a dialectical relationship exists between these hegemonic versions and highly satiric ones, then what is at stake for the more severe satiric mode? In terms set by melodrama,³⁷ Miss Canada is the victim, threatened physically and morally by the dastardly perpetrator, Macdonald. But this victimization becomes more nuanced in light of the cartoons' dialectical engagement with polite versions. As I argue in my introduction, melodrama insists on the restoration and preservation of the forces of good. These narrative impulses compete with dialectical engagement because the satiric mode subverts polite forms, leaving a moral result ambiguous. It is not clear if order will be restored; Canada's submission to the tyrannies of political whims and transgressions has been realized in Miss Canada's subjection to Macdonald's excesses. Although the satiric mode leaves questions of the nation's morality unanswered, by its very engagement with polite forms it allows the "original" versions to take the high ground. The nation's moral legitimacy may waver, but this vacillation only makes the hegemonic, regulative model more secure. Classically inspired allegory is a safe haven: Canada's image of itself can always take refuge in it. So the satiric cartoon trifles with disorder while nodding in the direction of order.

Because Miss Canada in these two cartoons behaves in a manner not sanctioned by codes of acceptable public behaviour, she appears wanton, and may stir prurient interest in the spectator, who, as I have indicated, is *assumed* to be gendered masculine. But voyeurism produces a double reading, as Hallett suggests. Her femininity is

eroticized by the artist's choice of suggestive details and commodified by the spectator's gaze while, like Moll Hackabout in *Harlot's Progress* and the mother in *Gin Lane*, her wantonness evokes the abject. What does it mean for a national allegory to be read as an image evoking fascination and horror, the terms of the abject?³⁸ Treating a time-honoured, revered and well-recognized allegory in this way is nothing short of invoking the sacred and the profane.³⁹ Again, because graphic satire engages with polite images, it does not profane the sacred altogether, but within the confines of these profane versions it says more about the spectator-subject than about the dubiousness of the allegory itself. The viewer is positioned to enjoy and consume and also to deplore and reject. As I argue in my introduction, the gaze is constructed as masculine through a cartoon's framing, melodrama and image of woman as sexual difference. The masculine viewer, caught momentarily in a bind of horror and fascination, crosses a boundary of middle-class respectability by sharing in the notion that the nation's moral touchstone may be squandered. The feminine viewer, on the other hand, is potentially cast in a scene of shame through identification with Miss Canada. At the same time, however, the acerbic wit occasioned by the captions and the caricature of Macdonald spare the viewer from too deep a contemplation of a moral shortfall. There is enough play in these images to ironize, but not altogether to demonize the nation and its handlers. Challenges to national subjectivity are fleeting, and, since polite images--with which such cartoons equivocate--far outnumber more biting satiric ones, their success at regulating a hegemonic ideal prevails.⁴⁰

Miss Canada is firmly embedded in a culture of visual display and harnessed to a cult of the ideal. Ideals of beauty, morality and domesticity influence her fitness to

supervise the nation as it is gradually being imagined in culture. While she is regulated by ideals and obligatory femininity and domesticity, she also and in turn performs a regulative function through her relationship to consumer commodity and her symbolic reproduction of national subjects. Miss Canada's origin as daughter of Britannia is an abiding part of her invocations to national subjectivity. Kinship within Empire confers a certain historical power on her to superintend the dominion's gradual but inexorable lurching towards the nation-state. She becomes a way by which to imagine an ideal nation--whether she appears in her classical guise as daughter in an imperial pantheon or a modern mistress of her own, independent domain. That her representation survives deeply satiric and profane treatment attests to the spirit of play and equivocation in graphic culture and to the redemptive potential of her polite, moderate, moral and, needless to say, beautiful image.



Chapter 2

Dominion, Nation, State: Miss Canada and Historical Crisis

... one should read the very multitude of the determinations of ideology as the index of different concrete historical situations.

Slavoj Žižek, "Spectre" (8).

We are not moved directly by the dynamics of history, rather it is moved by our historical consciousness, by the way we think historically.

Karl Lowith, in Berthold Riesterer, "Karl Lowith's Anti-Historicism" (155)

The analysis of the archive, then, involves a privileged region; at once close to us, and different from our present existence, it is the border of time that surrounds our presence, which overhangs it, and which indicates it in its otherness; it is that which, outside ourselves, delimits us.

Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (130).

Since history and ideology are ominously and unavoidably yoked together, and I intend to critique ideology in an examination of history, I approach both in this chapter with some consternation. The temptation to reach into history, grasp hold of its artifacts and assemble them into a grand narrative of a particularly loathsome, hegemonic ideology, is keen. Worse still would be to behold history's linked, causal plot-line merely waiting for an astute reader to trace its ideological trajectory. As Hayden White observes, "neither the reality nor the meaning of history is 'out there' in the form of a story awaiting only a historian to discern its outline and identify the plot that comprises its meaning" (487).

While there is something eerily hegemonic about the ways that historical events in Canada's past have stacked up ideologically in the image of Miss Canada as an allegory of nation, my aim here is to read the nuances and ruptures, tendencies and cataclysms of this most unsubtle ideographic muse.

One way to avoid slipping into an historiographic trajectory (though my chronological approach may seem counterintuitive) is to acknowledge and to "own" the weight and work of ideology in the position of the historian critic. As Žižek argues, the condition of believing ourselves to be outside of ideology, is the "very form of our enslavement to it" ("Spectre" 6). If we believe that the role of history is to signal a "moment of danger" ("Theses" 255) and, in so doing, place the present in a critical state, as Walter Benjamin would have it, then the role of the historian critic is to "blast" ("Theses" 262) historical moments from tenured moorings and erstwhile narratives of progress and victory, watching them career hazardously into the present. There is no escaping the fact that history exists in discourse before we subject it to interpretation. An "absent cause," as Althusser refers to it, history can only be accessed through some form of textuality (Jameson 35), but this form of access and interpretation does not obviate Benjamin's directive. We can attend to different discursively mediated forces--even ideological ones--that have shaped the event as we know it and still disturb comfortable ideologies and narratives in the present. While ideology is our lot, it need not be our nemesis. Like Himani Bannerji, I am interested in the ways that Canada, "a white settler society and state aspiring to liberal democracy, . . . has to mediate and express the usual inequalities of a class and patriarchal society, but also the ones created through colonialism and racism which inflect class and patriarchy" (5). No wonder Canada "has a

lot of work to do" (Bannerji 5). Part of that work, undoubtedly, comes from examining how ideology has underpinned cultural and political spaces in history, spaces where Miss Canada is inevitably silhouetted.

This chapter delves into history in order to discover the pathology of nationalism as uniquely portrayed by the cartoon figure of Miss Canada. Rather than adopt a single re-membering of nation at the expense of a rich diversity of experience, this chapter seeks to cast an historical map of nation into jagged relief. The previous chapter described how Miss Canada performs a regulative function owing to her embeddedness in a cult of ideal beauty and morality and to her performance as a commodity on display. This chapter picks up on the ideological aspects of her role as national allegory. It examines historical moments, specifically the Washington Treaty of 1871, the Pacific Scandal of 1873, the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, commitment to Imperial Trade Preference in 1897, Race and Immigration in the early 1900s, the reciprocity debate of 1911 and, finally, national identity immediately following World War I. On these occasions, Miss Canada stands in unproblematically for the nation, masking flash points of crisis, naturalizing historical functions of the nation-state and dodging the very constructedness of her own allegorical identity. Although the cartoon Miss Canada betrays seemingly unassailable homogeneous traits based on gender, race and class, there are more nuanced, subtle angles with which to view the ideological work that her image performs. Critical examination reveals competing influences that make up this national image. While some visual cues and signifiers present her as a minion of the British Empire, others emphasize her independence, moral exemplarity and suitability as a mother of the nation. I see these different incarnations as representative of conflicted impulses in Canada's movement

towards nationhood. A popular cultural image, Miss Canada can be read as a barometer of deep divisions as well as profound dreams of the dominant culture in its striving for national definition during this period of post-Confederation history.

Although Benedict Anderson has understood nations as imagined communities, it is useful to recall that Canada was, and still is, in the process⁴¹ of becoming. I prefer to think of Canada following Confederation as imaginable, but not easily or indisputably so. As a liberal democracy under capitalism, Canada still strains under its colonial, patriarchal past, barely recognizing how this past has informed issues of race, gender and class in the present. In the late nineteenth century, however, while many of its citizens were imagining their vast dominion as a nation and while the nation as a *de jure* and internationally recognized entity was yet to form, conflicts involving how best to represent Canada inevitably arose. The Canada First Movement, the Imperial Federation League (later the British Empire League), Independent Nationalists, Commercial Unionists and Annexationists--all had a stake in how Canada was to take shape as a political, social and cultural entity. The image of Miss Canada reflects these competing versions and the anxieties that underscored various political positions.

Since pre-Confederation, Miss Canada had adorned magazine and newspaper editorial pages as an uncomplicated cartoon image meant to allegorize Canada. Her image becomes freighted and significantly more complicated as one examines more closely her companions in the illustration, her clothing and accoutrements, her demeanor and the captions through which topical, political wit and wisdom were dispensed. She is both an historically generated, imperial icon and a home-grown allegory. Her roles as daughter of Britannia, mother of the nation and symbolically of its "native" sons are not

especially compatible, in the same way that filial piety and independence from familial constraints foster competing desires. Neither is Miss Canada's beautiful, pristine, morally sound persona at ease with that which she mythically conceals--the complex and often indecorous workings of the growing nation state. As a cultural object signifying the nation she works to legitimize and naturalize the nation-state. As Susan Hayward points out, "Nationalist discourses around culture work to forge the link--the hyphen--between nation and state. Nationalist discourses act then to make the practise of the state as 'natural' as the concept of nation . . ." (89). In spite of her various guises and *disguises*, her feminine gender, white race and middle class were *naturalized* signifiers, unassailable norms for any version of imagined community dominating the political, social and cultural scene. It is important to recognize the consistency of these homogeneous traits. Only then can one engage more critically with subtleties adumbrated by them.

Cartoon images and illustrations used in advertisements have at best a dubious hold on culture as the nineteenth-century audience might have understood the term. Miss Canada obviously had a wide appeal since a great many artists relied on her image and generations of cartoonists reproduced her. She is closely allied with mass production and consumption since she was most commonly found in magazines and newspapers. So, her image cannot be separated from corporate structure, market forces and a growing capitalist economy. Indeed, by the late nineteenth century, many newspapers depended upon advertisers for capital and on business managers to stay robust in the market (Sotiron). Yet as an embodiment of the nation, Miss Canada is undeniably a cultural image. I see this yoking of capital and culture, state function and national allegory as a puzzling, though not, perhaps, surprising or unexpected aspect of my reading of Miss

Canada. If her image as imperial daughter and national mother calls for a more nuanced reading, so her status as a revered cultural allegory obliges wrestling--if not reconciling, with the nineteenth-century capitalist nation state. This chapter will attempt to de-mystify these many competing political, social and cultural forces suggested by cartoon images of Miss Canada. In this way, I hope to de-naturalize Miss Canada, making this critique of her image part of larger debates on Canada's history of inclusion and exclusion, diversity and homogeneity.

Before embarking on specific, focussed readings of individual cartoons and their historic resonance, I will briefly re-capitulate the theoretical methodology governing my interpretation as outlined previously in my introduction. Following Slavoj Žižek, I concede the "paradox" of our "enslavement" ("Spectre" 6) to ideology, and concur that "ideology has nothing to do with illusion" (7), but rather with the ways that facts "are always *made to speak* by a network of discursive devices" (11). Žižek's point that a "political statement can be quite accurate as to its objective content, yet thoroughly ideological" is key because it reminds us that ideology is not about conspiracy or attempts to hoodwink unwilling subjects, but about how access to 'truth' or the real is bound by discursivity. Reference to discourse is undoubtedly based on Foucault's work, the difference being that for Foucault disciplinary procedures "inscribe themselves into the body directly, bypassing ideology" (Žižek "Spectre" 13). Although I am mindful of Althusser's term, ISA (ideological state apparatus), especially with regard to the magazine and newspaper industries as "structured ideological fields" (Hall), and the mechanisms of the Canadian state proper, like Žižek, I am more interested in how

ideology functions to alleviate "traumatic social divisions" with or without the "massive presence of the state" (13).

Ideology exists as a necessary relation between subjects and events, ideas or things. Undeniably, ideology may also be seen as an "active and transformative principle" (Sharpe 9) which persists by and through hegemony. Hegemony, defined in Michelle Barrett's reading of Antonio Gramsci and of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, is the "organization of consent, the process through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion" (238). Miss Canada is hegemonic because her authority (as national allegory) was assumed and her audience willing. Oddly enough, as I point out in my introduction, political cartoons belonging to a category of mild to moderate satire are not deeply subversive.⁴² They regale, cajole and grumble but do not derail political stability. Even highly satiric cartoons fail to unseat the hegemonic regulative model, as my argument in chapter one makes clear. A more prosaic way of looking at hegemony is that, in Terry Eagleton's words, "genuine hopes and needs" are being "met in plausible and attractive ways" (15). Arguably, the image of Miss Canada met hopes and needs for an intact, inviolate nation.

Since the cartoons have special characteristics involving how the visual acquires meaning, including how visual signs can be narratively rendered, theories of representation following Stuart Hall and Graeme Turner will also inform this chapter, as will Barthes's theories of myth and theories of melodrama developed by Peter Brooks, Christine Gledhill, and Ben Singer. Hall articulates how "all meanings are produced within history and culture" ("The Work" 32). Graeme Turner derives his definition of representation from Hall, stating that "representation is a discursive mediation which

work between the event and the culture and which contributes to national ideologies"

(*National* 123). Given that representation is founded on notions of language systems and social construction, it follows that subject-positioning *vis à vis* representation is as well. Hall argues that a multitude of discursive operations in an image create a subject-position for the spectator. In other words, the "discourse produces a subject-position" ("The Work" 60). This argument substantiates my claim that neither the representation (Miss Canada) nor the viewing subject (a cartoon audience) is in any way "natural." While a national allegory may parade as a "natural" signifier for the nation, it is anything but. A Barthesian perspective of mythology contends that as a second-order signification operating adjacent to language, myth turns history into nature; it "naturalizes" the image of Miss Canada, emptying the allegorical signifier of contingency, of history, purifying, and, as Barthes puts it, depoliticizing it (*Mythology* 142). Myth may be described as a way that ideology works within representations. Melodrama, a significant narrative mode in the cartoons, galvanizes myth because of melodrama's clear ethical boundaries demarcating good and evil and because of its focalization on the bourgeois woman in domestic space. When action is focalized on Miss Canada in this way, she is the victim representing the forces of good. Thus when she performs within melodrama's typed, stylized boundaries, she is discursively mediated, or placed at a further remove from historical 'reality,' making her appear natural through the melodramatic genre. Myth is the disappearance, or cloaking of history in favour of nature, so melodrama does its part to endorse myth in the cartoons.

Cartoons chronicling the Washington Treaty signed between Britain and the U.S. on 8 May 1871 cannot be defined as melodramatic, but they nevertheless mythically

foreclose upon deep anxieties about Canada's colonial status in international affairs. A cartoon published in *Canadian Illustrated News* during the treaty negotiations entitled "The Right Kind of Valentine" (CIN 18 Feb., 1871 artist unknown) shown in figure #2, depicts the gift of fisheries rights from Miss Canada to Miss Columbia. The figures are more or less equal in stature, with Miss Canada appearing slightly younger, less buxom and lacking Miss Columbia's hauteur. Otherwise, both figures are evenly placed within the cartoon frame, gestures are minimal and the transaction appears calm and amiable. The caption, "The Right Kind of Valentine," suggests that Canada's gift is both morally sound and strategically correct. Recalling Stuart Hall's notion that representation is made meaningful through both presence and absence, I note that Britannia is conspicuously absent from this cartoon. Miss Canada proffers her "gift" unaccompanied by her "mother," as if she operates as a sovereign nation. Perhaps independence and equal footing *vis à vis* the U.S. is desired in this instance because the stakes--fisheries, trade reciprocity and restitution for Fenian raids--were high, but a study of discourse surrounding the historical event reveals the cartoon's ideological purpose. While the cartoon is objectively "true" in that Sir John A. Macdonald *did* sign the Washington Treaty as a member of the Joint Imperial High Commission, it is nevertheless a "consoling fiction" (Jolly 110)⁴³ to assign full nation-state status to Canada at this time.

The Washington Treaty may have solved the problem of strained relations between Britain and the U.S., but it also revealed the fundamental difficulty of Canada's colonial status in international affairs. Since the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866, Americans had been shut out of the Canadian maritime fishery and they wanted back in. Their trump card with Britain was a series of events occurring over the Civil War

period, including Canada's inability or unwillingness to either extradite or prosecute confederate soldiers who raided St. Alban's, Vermont, accessing their target through Canada; the building of the Confederate ship, *Alabama*, in a British shipyard, a ship that had interfered with Union merchant vessels; and Canada's indifference to Union draft dodgers whom the U.S. wished returned to face trial for desertion (Thompson and Randall 36). Hoping to normalize relations and even avoid a possible war with the U.S., Britain offered concessions, one of which was unfettered access to Canada's maritime fishery. Macdonald was only one Canadian of five signatories and one of ten commissioners, so his powers in this negotiation were limited and symbolic. Macdonald had hoped to receive compensation for Fenian border raids and a restoration of the reciprocity treaty. He got neither, and was reputed to have said "there go the fisheries" as he applied his signature to the document (Sprague 21).

Macdonald did, however, protract the signing of the treaty in a bid to alleviate the "humiliation" (Sprague 21). With an election looming, he would have to take something more substantial back to parliament. Canada gained "access to the American market for her fish products and a cash settlement. . . . To soften the harshness of the treaty, Britain extended to Canada loan guarantees to underwrite a transcontinental railway" (Bolotenko 214). Macdonald had no choice but to sign, and the tone of Lord Elgin's letter entreating him to do so reflects Britain's imperial interests, not those of the dominion:

I believe [the treaty] to be one, which taken as a whole, and regarded as it ought to be, as a broad settlement of the many differences which have lately sprung up between Britain and the United States, is fair and

honourable to all parties and calculated to confer many important advantages upon our respective countries. (215)

Elgin's use of the terms "ought" and "respective countries" betrays a prescriptive tone and an acknowledgment that the parties concerned are decidedly Britain and the U.S. Present-day historical commentators have argued that the Treaty of Washington "was a preliminary phase in American acceptance of Canadian borders," and, while "legally and emotionally, and especially in American eyes, Canada remained a colony for generations to come, . . . [b]y 1871, it was clear that Canada had joined the United States and Mexico as the nations of North America" (Thompson and Randall 40). The conflicted nature of Canada's status is reflected in Thompson and Randall's assertion that Canada was both "a colony for generations to come" and one of three "nations" in North America.

Canada's loss of exclusive rights over maritime fisheries, a British and American achievement with minor fiscal and trade reciprocity concessions for Canada, remained a politically charged issue, so much so that Macdonald did not speak publicly about it until a year later in a four-and-one-quarter hour speech to the House of Commons, 3 May 1872. This speech, a rhetorically felicitous and densely factual document, supports the idea that the Washington Treaty signaled a deep division in national identity. It may have been difficult for Macdonald to occupy the dual roles of his country's representative and a British subject during the negotiations, but it required keen rhetorical skill to sell this dual impulse in the House of Commons. Early in the speech Macdonald outlines the potential for equivocation forced upon him by this role:

I had continually before me, not only the Imperial question, but the interests of the Dominion of Canada which I was there specially to

represent and the difficulty of my position was that if I gave undue prominence to the interests of Canada I might justly be held in England to be taking a purely Colonial and selfish view, regardless of the interests of the Empire as a whole, . . . and on the other hand, if I kept my eye solely on Imperial considerations I might be held as neglecting my especial duty towards this my country of Canada. (7)

Later in the speech, Macdonald leans toward his duty as a Canadian statesman, saying, "upon this, as well as upon every other point, I did all I could to protect the rights and claims of the Dominion" (17). In his closing comments, however, it is clear that the imperial card needed playing, in order to convince parliament to accept the treaty and exonerate him:

I went to Washington as Her Majesty's servant, and was bound by Her Majesty's instructions, and I would have been guilty of dereliction of duty if I had not carried out those instructions. And, sir, when I readily joined under the circumstances in every word of that treaty with the exception of the Fisheries Articles, and when I succeeded in having inserted in the Treaty a reservation to the Government and the people of Canada of the full right to accept or refuse that portion of it, I had no difficulty as to my course. (26)

Despite Macdonald's clever movement from one position to another in his characteristically luminous oratory, the unsettling and unresolvable fact of a liminal national subjectivity is clear. Canada was a dominion in the British Empire, yet its international interests might best have been served in these negotiations as a nation in its

own right. The "Valentine" cartoon obviates the conflict of these two aims, as if national status and authority had been achieved. In handing over the fisheries card to Miss Columbia, Miss Canada erroneously acts as an independent nation.

From an American point of view, beliefs about Canada as a meddling upstart were fuelled when, after Macdonald died in 1891 and his personal papers were entrusted to and then published in 1894 by his private secretary, Joseph Pope, the *New York Times* heralded the book's arrival with the byline "Secret Political History: What the Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald Reveal." A teasing subtitle states that "Sir John, Who was one of the British Commissioners, Fought Hard to Benefit Himself at Uncle Sam's Expense" ("Secret"17). The article quotes several passages from Macdonald's letters home during the negotiations, detailing his frustrations and disappointments with both the British and American commissioners:

The absurd attempts of the United States Commissioners to depreciate the value of our fisheries would be ridiculous if they were not so annoying.

They found our English friends so squeezable in nature that their audacity has grown beyond all bounds. (17)

Macdonald's words were used to characterize him as meddlesome and self-aggrandizing, and the article closes with an ominous, theatrical flavour:

Such is the hitherto secret chapter of the story of the treaty of Washington, which appears to convey a new warning that if ever Britain and Uncle Sam get at loggerheads, Canada may be found to be at the bottom of it.

(17)

Interestingly, nowhere in the article is Macdonald referred to as Canada's prime minister during the time of the treaty signing; he is called the late premier only at the beginning of the article and thereafter referred to as a commissioner or Sir John. The way that this period in history is represented in the American media shows how far Canada had to go in order to be a viable state in the international arena. Notwithstanding this problematic identity, the nation was being imagined in cultural forms such as Miss Canada in the "Valentine" cartoon.

Even cultural representations of Canada as a nation are slippery, however, and other cartoon evidence speaks to the complex and divisive nature of national identity politics. In a Dominion Day cartoon published 1 July 1871 (figure #1), a mere two months following the signing of the Treaty of Washington, the same Miss Canada, flanked and held in the firm grasp of Britannia, offers the fisheries card to Columbia from a safe distance. The cartoon's formal arrangement of figures, including those intended to represent European statesmen in royal, ministerial, or martial regalia looking on, indicates a straightforward un-ironic stance on the part of the artist. In this example, Miss Canada is a daughter of Empire and not a mother of nation. Two other cartoons--and all are from *Canadian Illustrated News*--depict her as a wailing infant, sorry at losing the "golden goose" of fisheries for Uncle Sam's "old gander" (figure #49), and as a faltering toddler boy, leaving mother Britannia's arms only to be caught by a waiting Uncle Sam should he fall (figure #50). The range of representations from innocent, vulnerable infant, to chaperoned daughter, to remarkably composed young sovereign nation speaks to the scope of anxieties around Canada's status in the wider political field. Yet mythic foreclosure (history masquerading as nature) supported by an allegorical mode (female

body as nation) ensure that these anxieties and irremediable difficulties are palatable to the viewer. As a mythic allegory then, Miss Canada encourages selective forgetting of history in favour of a right, reasonable, natural image of woman as nation. Even allegory's artifice can be hidden by this "natural" display.

Under the pen of J. W. Bengough, Miss Canada was tainted by association with Macdonald, only to be transformed into an unimpeachable moral allegory, a reminder that Canada the nation was an innocent sufferer, forced to endure unseemly political crises. After the Washington Treaty, the next significant crisis found in cartoon satire was The Pacific Scandal, an event which lost Macdonald his control of parliament and resulted in victory for Liberal Reformers under Alexander Mackenzie. It should be noted that the cartoons I will focus on here, one concerning the Pacific Scandal and three concerning the reform policies of Mackenzie's government, are drawn by Bengough, a confirmed Grit supporter and unfailing critic of Macdonald's methods and policies. This partisanship is integral to the satire, and, in the case of "Whither Are We Drifting?" partial motive for a strongly vituperative tone.⁴⁴ But reading the cartoons as simply partisan invective does not do justice to how allegory, satire and myth work to support certain ideologies of nationhood. As discussed in chapter one, the deep satire of "Whither Are We Drifting?" requires that the spectator make associations between Macdonald's morally reprehensible behaviour in accepting election funds from Sir Hugh Allan in exchange for railway contracts, and the nation embodied by Miss Canada (figure #7). While the audience is enjoined to consider her moral taint, future cartoons by Bengough depict the same Miss Canada as a moral exemplar, approving of Mackenzie's election promises and helping to keep scoundrels in check. I shall make the case that these images

of Miss Canada attempt to distance her from the disagreeable operations of the growing state, causing the viewing subject to perform an ideological leap between the female allegory as nation--the fantasy construction as Žižek calls it--and the state functions which proceed regardless of a morally sound national allegory. But her treatment in the drawing, her role in the cartoon's narrative, and her relationship to the other characters, whether subservient, superior, amused or disdainful, determine how the image of the nation will be thematically rendered. These four, more composed and modest images of Miss Canada attempt to distance her from the disagreeable operations of the growing state, causing the viewing subject to perform an ideological leap to the female allegory as nation from unpleasant and disorderly politics and unrestrained state functions.

Quite recovered from the abyss of the Pacific Scandal through the accession of Alexander Mackenzie and his reform policies of "electoral purity" and "independence of Parliament," Miss Canada watches approvingly as Mackenzie carves these maxims in stone in a cartoon entitled "The Premier's Model. Or, Implements To Those Who Can use Them" (figure #51 Bengough). Miss Canada appears in full-figured classical style here with helmet, shield and classical drapery. Typically Canadian markers include the label "Canada" on her shield, the beaver at her feet and maple leaves extruding from her helmet. The choice of classical allegory is significant because it lends historical legitimacy to her role; the viewer immediately connects her to her mother, Britannia, who is invariably classically attired, and to historical antecedents like Athena and Nike. Classical female allegory has the added boon of association with embodied ideals such as "Justice," "Peace" and "Truth," so the artist's choice is further legitimized and morally heightened. The caption, which reads, "Well and bravely done, Mackenzie; now stand by

that policy and I am with you always," denotes sanctimonious approval and a promise of fidelity between Canada and the Liberal Reform party under Mackenzie.

Two other cartoons, "Miss Canada's School" (figure #52, Nov. 1873) and "Pity the Dominie, or Johnny's Return" (figure #53, Feb. 1874), capitalize on the sheepish appearance of Sir John A. Macdonald, returned to parliament by his Kingston riding. In the former, he wears a dunce cap with the label "Bad Boy"; in the latter, he drags his feet and slate, casting a hangdog glance at the "teacher," Mackenzie. The schoolroom backdrop is a typical one for Bengough, allowing for the reduction of national events to simple, bounded settings, diminution of bombastic figures to mischievous boys and insertion of chastising aphorisms disguised as blackboard lessons. In terms of the cartoons' humour and mild to moderate satire, the schoolroom is an effective graphic device. But what I am interested in is the potential for moral instruction and Miss Canada's role as a moral arbiter in this setting. As a teacher (in figure #52) or headmistress (in figure #53), Miss Canada is a disciplinary figure, exempt from the tawdry mischief of political intrigues. Like Miss Canada in "The Premier's Model," she can instruct, admonish and, in so doing, set a tone of moral indignation.

A final cartoon under consideration in this set also concerns the Mackenzie administration, but appears a few years later (1877), following investigations into the former government's connections to the Northern Railway company. The title "What Investigation Revealed" (figure #54) refers to evidence that Macdonald's government had received monies from the Northern railway company for election funds and for Macdonald's stock in the *Mail* newspaper. Moral outrage was perhaps an expedient political move for the Liberal Reformers as they approached an 1878 election having

enjoyed a lacklustre tenure; under Mackenzie, railways were being built at a fraction of the pace promised by Macdonald, and the economy was in a slump due to an unsuccessful reciprocity agreement that died in the U.S. senate (Morton 94-95). This cartoon takes place in a barn, a setting unlike the schoolrooms of the previous two cartoons, and shows ridiculous politicians (including Macdonald, of course) milking the sacred public cow, labeled "Northern Railway (Impounded by Miss Canada)."

Contrasting the child-like guilty figures caught in the act, Miss Canada and Alexander Mackenzie are full-statured adults, observing the scene dolefully from the doorway. Miss Canada is indeed disappointed, and her look of resigned chagrin reads like a deep sigh of "here we go again!"

The theme of these four cartoons, following on the heels of the profoundly satiric "Whither Are We Drifting?," indicates an investment in the country's moral castigation of political strife. In each case, Miss Canada is positioned on the moral high ground, the unsullied female embodiment of an innocent populace. Allegory and myth are the discursive means by which Miss Canada maintains that distance from the sordid political realm and from the intimate association between state and capital. Because allegory, as I have previously described it, is an "empty" sign or "impervious material cover whose gesture toward some 'other' cannot be read as the spiritual thing itself" (Kelley 256), it can refer to historical antecedents (like Britannia, for example), but can never be replete with meaning in a one-to-one correspondence. So Miss Canada stands in for the nation while she contains no transcendent meaning of nation, even in an imaginary sense. As myth she does not need to provide that transcendence accorded to symbol because she is cleansed of historical reality, of the ways and means by which a dominion or nation has

taken shape in a material sense. Myth makes allegory "look like" nature because of the apparent disappearance or cloaking of history. She appears, then, as a 'natural' sign, in spite of her constructedness in culture. The viewer is urged to forget how 'nation' is constructed as an imaginary and tolerable face for the state. It is this forgetting that is a key function of ideology and a means of discursively positioning the subject-viewer to make a leap of faith between the allegorical female body and nation.

In order to show precisely what has been foreclosed by the mythic national female allegory, I will turn to how the Pacific Scandal (the event which precipitated the cartoons in the first place) circulated in discourse. What this evidence will show is the way that the business of government is tied to capitalist ventures and the way that the construction of a state necessarily entails intimacy between government and capital. This fact does not abruptly end with mercurial shifts in partisan politics. In public addresses, pamphlets and broadsheets both parties took advantage of the scope for derision and grandstanding offered by the Pacific Scandal. From the perspective of the Liberal opposition, evidence that Sir Hugh Allan's funds were a direct payment for railway contracts was "incontrovertible" (Blake, "Three Speeches" 9). It was felt that parliament itself had been made a mockery of, when the Conservatives, insisting that committee members assigned to investigate the scandal ought to take evidence only under oath, were seen as stalling the investigation. Ultimately, an oaths Bill was passed but was disallowed by Britain. Macdonald offered to set up a Royal Commission (which would garner assent in Britain), but the committee went ahead without the ability to swear in those who were to be questioned. When it was clear that due to the absence of key witnesses--including Sir Hugh Allan himself--the committee could not reconvene until August, Macdonald opted

to prorogue parliament, arguing that it would not be fair for Conservative members who had to travel enormous distances (not, as yet, by rail) to miss important business that might transpire in the House.⁴⁵ Prorogation of parliament was a real sticking point with the Liberals who saw it as a manipulation of the House and a travesty of justice.⁴⁶ In a scathing and condemnatory tone that, by the fall of 1873 was becoming quite typical for Liberal members of parliament, David Mills delivered the following words:

Enormous grants of land and enormous sums of money were proposed as subsidies and no man could be a stockholder in this Pacific Railway and a member of the House without placing his duty to the public in conflict with his personal interests. . . . [T]his proposal to admit members to share in the profits of the enterprise, and to open the door wide to a corrupt alliance between the Government and members and railway jobbers, and speculators, are so many concurrent facts consistent with the intention on the part of the Ministry to improperly maintain themselves in power. (8)

Little wonder, given the rancorous tone of debate, that J.W. Bengough was intent upon rescuing Miss Canada from such sordid depths. Like the artist, the subject/viewer takes up this note of rescue; he may not identify with Miss Canada, but he can respond with indignation for her sake, as a champion of the values she espouses.

Conservatives did not shrink from their own defense, however, and evidence that they mounted in order to settle the score, and later, besmirch the Mackenzie administration, illustrates how interdependent were the functions of state and capital. An unsigned document published by the *Montreal Gazette* (1873) defended heavy contributions to elections by wealthy patrons as "the invariable practice since the

introduction of party government" ("Comments" 7). Furthermore, the nearly treasonous allegation that Macdonald had sold out to American capitalists because they were partners in the scheme with Hugh Allan was answered as "intuited on terms that [Sir Hugh Allan] no doubt thought advantageous as a business man" ("Comments" 10). Conservatives argued that reprisals against the Pacific railway scheme had more to do with provincial rivalries between Ontario and Quebec than they had with moral repugnance. For instance, if the Pacific company were to amalgamate with the Inter-Oceanic, an Ontario-based firm, a move that exempted the dreaded American capitalists from any railway charter, then the Grand Trunk railway company out of Montreal would necessarily be "hostile" ("Comments" 10) to this privileging of Ontario's interests.

Determined to share political ignominy with the opposition, the Conservatives soon found evidence of corruption to meet or exceed their own. Under the auspices of the *Kingston Leader and Patriot*, an 1874 pamphlet publication entitled "The History of the Lake Superior Ring" and dubbed a "thorough exposé of Mackenzie and Brown's treachery to their country" accused Alexander Mackenzie of re-routing the Pacific Railway away from the planned point of Lake Nipissing to the western shores of Lake Superior in order to benefit personally from his own mining interests in that region. They offer as evidence a public notice specifically naming Alexander Mackenzie as an applicant for "An Act to authorize the granting of Charters of Incorporation to Manufacturing, Mining and other Companies." The incriminating portion reads as follows:

The object and purpose for which Incorporation is sought are: the exploration, purchase, development and sale of mineral and other lands on

the shores and in the vicinity of Lake Superior, and mining for gold, silver, copper and other metals, ores and other minerals, and the working, exploration and sale thereof. ("History" 4)

Conservatives lambasted Mackenzie and his compatriots (among them, George Brown, owner of *The Globe*) for having "prostituted" (6) the Canadian government by ensuring that public policy directly benefit private business. More than a simple *quid pro quo*, trading insults and accusations for the sake of political advantage, these and documents that Liberals used to slander Macdonald and his ministers are evidence of a more inglorious fact: the intimacy between state and capital, notwithstanding partisan politics. The business of government was yoked with capitalist ventures. More recent historical scholarship argues that railway construction, far from a strictly nationalistic concern, was rather a bid for economic prosperity, first and foremost of a personal nature.⁴⁷ Added to this intimacy between profit motive and state growth is the "standard knowledge that patronage was endemic to Canadian politics in the 1867-1911 period" (Stewart 129).

While we may not be surprised about the embeddedness of state and capital, we may indeed remark upon the ways that a cultural image such as Miss Canada shields this historic reality through allegory and myth. Instead of depicting the functions of state and capital in a necessary, dialectical relationship with an idealized national imaginary, cartoonists chose to separate them. While the state is undeniably always present, the Bengough cartoons I have described de-historicize while they attempt to fix a narrative of morally propitious national allegory, leaving the impression that nation and state are discrete entities. Perhaps mythic, moral integrity offered more immediate rewards for the viewer as he or she sought to identify as a national subject. Willing to entertain the

consoling fiction of nationhood through a cultural icon like Miss Canada, national subjects adopt this discursive rendering wholeheartedly. Cautious, rudimentary steps toward statehood are abandoned in favour of immediate rewards in the form of mythic, moral integrity. A misrecognition must have taken place, however, in order for the state to effectively disappear.

The face of moral national allegory takes on a bolder, more steadfast aspect during the second Riel rebellion, most often referred to as the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. My aim in discussing this historical crisis is not to assess the event or the prodigious scholarly and popular debate waged ever since, but rather to determine how specific political cartoons render Miss Canada in that moment. As with the Washington Treaty and the Pacific Scandal, it will be necessary to locate how the rebellion of 1885 circulated in contemporary discourse in order adequately to frame the cartoon treatment. The first cartoon I wish to consider is also from *Grip*, drawn by its prolific publisher and illustrator, J.W. Bengough. In "Cry Havoc and Let Slip the Dogs of War" (figure #55 April 1885) Miss Canada, her face set grimly and determinedly, bearing the standard and pointing the troops resolutely in the direction of the rebellion, may be described as both a mother of nation and an emblem of martial prowess. She is a maternal figure in contemporary, rather than classical, dress and, at the same time, a masculinized image owing to her grim, stalwart demeanour and thick, muscular neck. This conflicted composition serves two purposes. First, as a mother of nation she represents an ideal which includes a sense of the immemorial past and the limitless future. Secondly, as a masculine, martial figure, she represents the desire to see the forces under Middleton succeed against the *Métis* and native insurgents. Perhaps female allegory's affiliation

with Athena, virgin goddess of war, lends a martial spirit to the image as well. But this association with Athena does nothing to dispel the conflicted aspects of this image, for how can Canada be matron and virgin at once? Military might would inspire confidence in the battle's outcome. Because of its particular cultural and historical valence, the caption, too, provides inspiration for military success. "Cry havoc and Let Slip the Dogs of War," Henry the Fifth's rallying battle cry, would not be lost on an audience of mainly Anglo-Saxon Ontarians. The motto invokes legitimacy for an imperial cause: this battle against *Métis* insurgents made reminiscent of great battles like Agincourt, where the English were victorious over the French.

To the right of Miss Canada are two unlikely comrades, Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat and Prime Minister Macdonald, Liberal and Conservative respectively and, under any other circumstances, staunch rivals. That they are shaking hands in a gesture of rapprochement, united in the goal of quelling the uprising, indicates the degree to which Ontario and, for that matter, Quebec were in the grip of what has been described as "a surge of jingoism" (Cumming 136). One military historian reminisced a dozen years later after the Northwest Rebellion:

With splendid unanimity the people of Canada, from one end to the other, demanded that the authority of the law should be asserted at whatever cost. . . . The order calling the regiment out for active service was received at midnight, and at eleven the next day, the roll was called, and not a man was absent. The regiment was in full strength, and there were so many applications to enlist that the regiment could have easily been recruited to three times its authorized strength. (Chambers 84)

"Cry Havoc . . ." fixes this moment of unanimity, emphasizing loyalty and duty at the expense of *Métis* grievances and of debate. The cartoon signals mythic foreclosure of rupture and crisis. While havoc may be wrought in battle, at least in terms of the cartoon, it would not be waged in debate.

In spite of how Miss Canada invokes legitimacy and expediency of military dispatch, it is important to note that debate did circulate around the rebellion and during the period of Riel's trial and execution later that year. Western newspapers, whose readership had most to fear from uprisings, were quick to sympathize with *Métis* grievances and to condemn government intransigence in settling them. The *Calgary Herald* stated that

[m]uch as it may be regretted that the half-breeds are having recourse to arms, there is more than a feeling amongst the settlers that the breeds are fighting for what should have been granted them long ago, nay, more than that, that they will be better treated by the government and will be more likely to obtain their rights for having raised a rebellion. ("Halfbreed Rising")

The *Edmonton Bulletin* went so far as to imply that the uprising was inevitable, arguing that

[a] match will not fire a pile of green wood, but it will a pile of dry. Had the Saskatchewan country been in a satisfied condition a hundred such men as Riel might have come into it and the only harm resulting would have been to themselves. . . . [T]he pile was made ready for the firebrand, and the firebrand ready lighted came in the person of Riel. ("Trouble")

Even after blood had been shed, the rebels caught and Riel duly tried and hanged, the *Edmonton Bulletin* did not release the government from responsibility "for its share in the rebellion and its deplorable consequences" ("Riel").

English-Canadian newspapers in central Canada, chastened and grown circumspect after Riel's execution, continued to laud the decision that Riel hang for treason, but reported his death and resultant unrest in Quebec with apparent equanimity. The *Ottawa Citizen* reported painstakingly on Riel's last rites, ministrations, prayers, letters, last hours and the wish of the deceased to lay by his father in St. Boniface Cemetery in Winnipeg. One writer noted the "charm of [Riel's] speech" and commented on his winning manner: "looking at him and witnessing his manner, it was easy to discern the influence he had with his people" ("Riel's Death"). The tone, if not reverential, is certainly deferential and lacking in vindictive pride at the course of events. The *Montreal Gazette*, while typing French Canadians as "impressionable" and "filled with the pride of race" in their vehement disapproval of Riel's sentence, noted that "no great harm will be done" by the "burning of effigies and like demonstrations" ("Riel's Execution"⁴). Evidently the media preferred to see these responses as natural outpourings of grief from Quebec's citizenry. Perhaps editors did not wish to fan the fires of dissent, or perhaps they were tapping into a creeping collective guilt. For whatever reason, they chose not to proclaim a jubilant victory over Riel's death.

These representations of the rebellion and subsequent hanging of Riel offer a snapshot of the range of media reaction and an indication of the presence of debate. As A. I. Silver convincingly argues, Ontario "fanaticism" was more perceived than real. Both Ontario and Quebec citizens reacted appropriately given the level of accuracy accorded

their news media of the day (23). He notes that "easterners received much rumour, speculation, and contradictory report from the west" (24). Regarding the trial and execution of Riel and resulting animosity and suspicion between Ontarians and Quebeckers, Silver states that "[Ontarians] judged Riel severely, but in accordance with the standards of their time and with their perception of the crimes he had committed." Silver concludes that "neither the traditional notion of Ontario fanaticism nor the revisionist denial of real ethnic hostility seems correct in the end. There was real and long-lasting hostility, but it arose from a coherent and rational attempt to understand the events of 1885" (50). This nuanced reading of how the Northwest Rebellion and the hanging of Riel circulated inflects the "Cry Havoc . . ." cartoon in specific ways. Miss Canada is profoundly ideological because she forecloses upon historical vicissitudes that mark this period. Her battle rallying cry and emphatic gestures proclaim the enthusiasm and glorification of the early days of the campaign. Allegory lends itself to ideology because of its apparent integrity, totality and, above all, naturalness in the moment of rupture and crisis. The subject/spectator of this cartoon can safely turn away from an aggrieved historical moment, contemplating instead the moral sanctity of a military campaign.

In a different, but equally ideological move, Bengough answered his growing unease around "halfbreed" grievances following the rebellion--stemming especially from his animosity toward the Macdonald administration--with a cartoon that may be seen as counterpoint to the "Cry Havoc . . ." cartoon. In figure #56, a cartoon entitled "Another Decoration Now in Order" (May 1886), Miss Canada pins a "Redress of Wrongs" medal on a *Métis* soldier. This version of the allegorical nation is very different from the

stalwart woman of "Cry Havoc . . ." The shape of this woman is softer, her eyes both forgiving and beseeching the face of the soldier in the hopes of absolution. The occasion for the drawing is the awarding of medals to "gallant volunteers" who joined to suppress the rebellion, and the caption suggests that *Métis* soldiers ought to be compensated with the "rights they fought for." While this is a laudable feeling and, as Bengough's biographer states, "very much out of tune with the mood of Toronto" (Cumming 145), it is difficult to view this shape-shifted Miss Canada in isolation. Seen as a counterpoint to the "Cry Havoc . . ." Miss Canada, she disguises the martial rallying cry, demonstrating how an allegorical figure works in the service of ideology by being filled up with meaning as necessary. Allegory has that ephemeral, but nevertheless useful representational quality of being made to speak discursively for the moment. Yet, at the same time, its premise is ahistorical, because it must forget the very constructedness of its figuration and the untidy, material effects of history.

Unlike the occasion of the Northwest Rebellion and the hanging of Riel, the next series of cartoons under consideration does not mask rupture and crisis, but rather highlights what Gordon Moyles and Douglas Owram call, and what I have alluded to earlier as, the inherent "paradox" of imperial and national identity, including an identity that advances white, Anglo-Saxon indigeneity. During the period considered the zenith of imperial power--1880 to the early 1900s--even staunch imperialists were heard to express sentiments more "Canadian" than even they were perhaps aware (Moyles and Owram 21). It must be remembered that the movement which became known in the 1890s as the British Empire League began its life as the "Canada First" movement, as early as 1870. Colonel George T. Denison, one of its founders and later an indefatigable crusader for

Imperial Unity, addressed Canadians in a speech delivered several times from 1871 to 1872:

I pointed out that all the great nations possessed a strong national spirit, and lost their position and power as soon as that spirit left them, and urged all Canadians to think first of their country--to put it before party or personal considerations. (50-51)

Although the aim of the group was to cement this national feeling, it was intended that Canadians "retain [their] affection and secure [their] fealty" (53) to the Mother land. In its later incarnations as the Imperial Federation League, established in 1885 after its British counterpart of the same name was inaugurated in 1884, and the British Empire League in 1896, the organization was deeply vexed and, arguably, kept vigorous by the troubling commercial union movement and the movement for annexation. Denison notes that the "leading men in this conspiracy were Edward Farrer, Solomon White, Elgin Myers, E.A. Macdonald, Goldwyn Smith and John Charlton" (108), but clearly its most dangerous, vocal and irrepressible proponent (and thorn in Denison's side) was Goldwyn Smith. The basis of the league's schemes (both practical and lofty) recognized historical, cultural, economic, military and racial ties with Britain.⁴⁸ Noting that George Parkin's book *Imperial Federation* (1892) was in direct retaliation to Goldwyn Smith's *Canada and the Canada Question* (1891), Carl Berger states that "there was scarcely an item of imperialist literature at this time which did not set forth a challenge, denial, or indignant dismissal of Smith's views" (*Sense* 42). Evidently mutual animosity between the two groups was vociferous, yet, with the exception of outright annexationists, each saw as its mandate the definition of the Dominion of Canada as a nation.⁴⁹

There were other voices too in the cacophony of debate over how Canada ought to define itself. These came informally in magazine editorials and letters, notably in *The Week*. In an editorial dated January 1889, the writer, while acknowledging each position, is satisfied to leave the *status quo* well enough alone:

Some few among us are in favour of annexation to the United States. A similar number may probably be found who are impatient for independence. A large and increasing number, including some of our ablest men, have pronounced in favour of Imperial Federation. The great mass of people are contented with the *status quo*; and in this case the 'masses' are right, whether the 'classes' agree with them or not. Whatever may be our destiny, it is well that, for the present, we should 'rest and be thankful'. ("Federation and Annexation" 69)

Calling for the formation of a "Canadian National League" as a viable alternative, another contributor, F.G. Scott,⁵⁰ defined as its object "the promotion of a distinct national feeling friendly to a connection with the British Empire, consistent with our self-respect, and hostile to the surrender of our territories and privileges and liberty, to United States schemers by what is called Annexation!" (9). The idea of annexation was answered by one letter writer as preposterous and absurd because of his conviction that "there is no such thing as a sincere annexationist wish throughout Canada, and not even a pretence in that direction deserving of a moment's sincere consideration" (Hamilton 43). Still another dubbed the Canadian National League proposal a "very happy suggestion," because Imperial Federation was proving to be no more than "a splendid dream" which proved "unworkable" in a practical sense (Pentreath 61).

Notwithstanding the fierce debate and the inability of Imperial Federationists to pin Britain down to a workable, practical solution for trade, tariffs and future military commitments,⁵¹ the dominion parliament under Wilfrid Laurier eventually agreed to a bill for Imperial Trade Preference in 1897. The humorous political magazine *Punch* clearly approved of the gesture, publishing an illustration by John Tenniel entitled "A Decided Preference" (figure #57). Miss Canada pins a ribbon labeled "Preferential Tariff" on a beaming John Bull while a miffed Uncle Sam turns his back to the ceremony. The caption reads, "John Bull (To Miss Canada) 'Thank you my dear. Your favour is as welcome as the flowers in May!' " The depiction of Miss Canada in this cartoon is of particular interest for two reasons: first, it echoes the tone of earlier cartoons showing Miss Canada deferring to Britain; secondly, it presents Miss Canada as a cross between a pre-Raphaelite, white, European beauty and a feather-bedecked and blanket-clad native girl. The former is an already familiar embodiment, tapping into a contemporary cult of beauty and moral surfeit. The latter could be dismissed as an uninformed imperial perspective on a mysterious colonial territory, were it not for Canadian examples of Miss Canada or Miss Northwest Territories in native 'drag' which long precede it (figure #58 "Farewell," figure #59 "Le Bon Samaritain,"). Since one could produce a similar reading of each of these Canadian examples which date back to the 1880s, the London *Punch* cartoon does not seem an incongruous choice for study. Such easy indigenization of a female allegory suggests a wholesale mythic foreclosure. Miss Canada has been authenticated and indigenized as the soul, source and embodiment of national integrity, a form of representation that elides the historical fact of exploration, resource extraction,

colonial settlement and state formation. A form of necessary historical forgetting has taken place.

While Miss Canada "plays Indian," what is at stake in terms of signification? First let me point out that the representation of natives on European soil as (noble and ignoble) savage spectacle is a centuries-old practice, romanticized and mythologized in stories like those of Pocahontas, Hiawatha and Shownadithit; that Miss Canada's American counterpart, Miss Columbia, was, in a former incarnation, an Indian Princess; that the complex identification of North Americans (Canadians and Americans alike) to the land and to the growing nation has often involved the taking on of certain native traits, dress and behaviour. Rayna Green argues that in the first hundred years or so of exploration and settlement, some of what would become a "leisure based artistry" of playing native might perhaps have been borne of necessity because "Indians knew how to survive in their own habitats" (32). By the late nineteenth century, however, adopting native traits and behaviours was part of a normative practice in the formation of national subjectivity whether in children's pageants and playlets or in the full-blown adoption of native lifeways.⁵² Green goes on to describe how in the eastern United States a "vaguely Algonquinized/Iroquoized performance" (36) gradually gave way to an ubiquitous Plains Indian version as settlement pushed westward following the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804-06) and later the Indian Removal Bill of 1830.

Canada did not boast the more conspicuous, crass performative of the "Wild West Show" to popularize native behaviours and dress, but it nevertheless drew from a huge range of culturally distinct peoples in its North-West Territories upon assumption of the Hudson's Bay Company charter in 1870. Until the collapse of the fur trade, Canada

(under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company) fostered an economic system of resource extraction that created an entire race of people, the Métis. When natives and Métis were no longer necessary for trading furs and guiding through long-established but precipitous trade routes, they became superfluous and problematical for the Canadian government. The Northwest Rebellion, described above with respect to Miss Canada, is the most inflammatory example of a confused, unresponsive and Anglo-centric Canadian government, unwilling or unable to address native and Métis grievances. Cooler, more systemically and rationally driven, the reservation and residential school systems, finally, presented a solution, and, whether incidentally or by design, a form of cultural genocide. Consequent upon settler encroachment and westward expansion into indigenous space is the myth of the "vanishing" Indian. That the native, through lack of resistance to disease, alcohol and "warlike" tendencies is ostensibly disappearing, becomes a necessary trope for future European settlement. So the native must be *seen* to have disappeared while remaining very much accessible as a set of identifiable traits that can be assumed in lieu of white, European originary presence in that space. A be-feathered Miss Canada adopts the prairie native headdress (however erroneously) and in so doing performs a sweeping cultural coup: neither native nor Métis, she nevertheless enacts indigenization in a bid for authenticity and origin. This phenomenon, described by Alan Lawson and by Jonathan Bordo as erasure and displacement of the indigene, results in a curious non-entity for the settler invader subject. Miss Canada occupies an in-between space: neither fully European white woman nor indeed native, she defers to the Imperium while she authorizes over indigenous peoples. Spectator identification with her is thus similarly hybridized, creating, or at least encouraging, a national subject who must simultaneously

remember imperial and (falsely) indigenous origins and forget both the struggle for national identity within Empire and the often violent and certainly invasive encroachment into indigenous space. Anxieties surrounding the definition of Canada witnessed in writings by Canada Firsters, Imperial Federationists, British Empire Leaguers, Commercial Unionists, Canadian National Leaguers and even Annexationists make the performance of indigeneity all the more crucial: Canada must be seen to have a native face, and Miss Canada's representation as an indigene accomplishes such a goal.

Ironically, while Miss Canada in native drag constructs an origin for the Canadian subject, the image is significantly Anglicized when increased immigration threatened racial homogeneity and the future of Anglo-Saxon dominance. Several cartoons from the late 1890s and early 1900s show not only that Canada has a decidedly racist past, but also how allegory, ideology, myth and gender aid in the cartoon's racist, exclusionary moves. Commonly held beliefs about race, and about Anglo-Saxon fitness to govern and populate Canada inform ideological and mythological readings of the nation. Note in figures #3, #4 and #60 how national boundaries are made explicit as doors or gates, and Miss Canada--or her counterpart, Miss British Columbia--guards them or holds them fast. In figure #3 (Ryan) from Montreal's *Le Canard*, September 1899, Asian faces are both stereotyped and undifferentiated. Laurier's support of an "open-door policy" (which he reversed in 1900 by raising the head tax) is shown here in his attempt to wrest the door open and in the artist's rendering of him in stereotypical Asian "drag." The second image (figure # 4 Ryan) comes from *Le Canard*, August 1900, and depicts a more matronly Miss Canada attired in an apron befitting her domestic role as mother of the nation. Clifford Sifton's immigrants are, more accurately, excessively and variously stereotyped

undesirable aliens. It was thought that visible markers of race were one of the features that made certain groups "unassimilable" to Canadian society. In *B.C. Saturday Sunset*, August 1907, Miss British Columbia bars hordes of Asian immigrants at the gate of the province (figure #60 Hawkins). The artist includes innumerable and undifferentiated faces in order to register fears of a "yellow peril." In contrast, the entrants at the gate for "white immigration" are drawn as differentiated individuals, calmly proceeding through in an orderly, legal fashion. One cannot help but notice the quality of dress in these immigrants. It is assumed that they are, or will soon join the ranks, of the middle classes. Note too how modern steamships grace the harbour where whites enter, whereas older Chinese sailing vessels appear behind the gate at the Chinese entrance. Peter S. Li calls this kind of distinction one of "conceptual bias" against Chinese who were considered "little more than representatives of a remote and ancient culture" (10). This artist's racist, exclusionary view nods toward modernity and progress while eschewing ancient, traditional (read archaic) Chinese ways. The point of view in this latter cartoon, while it relies on stereotypes and exaggeration, does not employ satire or inversions as do the two former cartoons. Each of the examples, however, represents doxic notions regarding the incontrovertible and unassailable white, middle-class destiny of Canada.

That the cartoons are a racist discourse is not at issue. What I intend to explore is how allegory, ideology, myth and gender function in the service of a racist discourse. The fact that Miss Canada and her provincial counterparts are nearly always labelled--with a name emblazoned on a helmet, headpiece, belt or hemline or indeed, dressed in the provincial or national flag--establishes her identity as the body politic. Her temporal relation to versions of female incarnation determines Miss Canada's allegorical makeup.

As I have pointed out, unlike symbol, which presupposes a transcendent meaning behind the image, allegory connects to previous signs in such an "arbitrary" and "conventional" way, Paul Smith argues, "that it specifically marks its own distance from an original truth" (105-06). Smith further characterizes allegory, then, as "an historical fall from an original plenitude" (120). Needless to say, Miss Canada's immediate predecessor is Britannia, for whom Miss Canada is "a well-nigh grown up daughter" (Bryce 3), as she was described in 1893. If allegory looks back to a past, to an "original plenitude," at the same time, it looks forward to a future. For this reason, allegory is an ideal signifier for the nation, which must conceive of itself as at once ancient and hoary and new and pristine. The relationship between racist discourse and the allegorical image hinges upon Miss Canada's inclination backwards to her very particular past and, subsequently, her preservation of a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon heritage. Such a heritage will admit Teutons and Normans, but not a carefully constructed, raced, classed, alien "other." Miss Canada, as an allegorical image, is a vessel-like sign, or in Theresa Kelley's terms, "an impervious, material cover" (256). She is a repository for Anglo-Saxon heritage and her exclusionary practices are, therefore, a "natural" prerogative.

Miss Canada's allegorical body guarantees the agreeable, inviolate and recognizable presence of the nation. Indeed, the proliferation of her image may even have contributed to racism's increasing institutionalization. As an expanding settler colony, eager to contain and populate its vast and newly acquired western regions, late-nineteenth century Canada would generate distinctions and, increasingly, construct institutions and laws to secure a homogeneous culture. In light of these urges, differences in language, religion, ethnicity, class, skin colour and perceived physiological or phrenological

distinctions would all come under the rubric of "race." It is important to note, however, that while nineteenth-century ideas about race revolved around a descriptive category based on "primordial features" (Bolaria and Li 22), racial distinction in Canada may also be traced as a social construct. Peter S. Li describes how "superficial physical and cultural features are important in the social construction of 'race' to the extent that they are used as social criteria to organize, process, reward, or penalize people. In this way, the fundamentally irrational concept of 'race' is given artificial meaning as it is used as a tool and a justification for social segregation" (11).

Moreover, labour requirements changed as Canada transformed from a mercantilist colony to a liberal democracy under capitalism. Tremendous anxiety accompanied this transformation because labour needs and sources for labour waxed and waned with a changing economy. Labour organizations, such as the Anti-Mongolian League, "emphasized the injury Chinese and Japanese did to society, especially labour, and blamed employers for this evil" (Roy 95). Where colonial economies require indentured labour, capitalist economies require free labour (Bolaria and Li 35). Canadian immigration and labour policies (such as the head tax and restrictions on types of labour Chinese immigrants could perform) clearly show the nation's feet in both worlds: indentured labour is desirable while free labour is most amenable to a capitalist economy because it can "economize its overhead costs" (Bolaria and Li 3). In the salmon canneries and the agricultural sector in British Columbia, for example, owners either kept silent on Oriental labour or meekly argued that Chinese were essential to their operations (Roy 95). Racial distinctions, including the immigration restrictions and disenfranchisement that went along with such categorizations, offered a convenient code

for social control. I believe that anxiety around labour made it possible for white Anglo-Saxon Canadians to apply language, religion, ethnicity, class, skin colour and perceived physiological or phrenological distinctions to the term "race."

In spite of the link between labour and race that I have made here, cultural and official *expressions* about race were both "doctrinal" and "spontaneous" (Balibar 38). These are Etienne Balibar's terms to describe the foundational logic of racism and its specific, localized eruptions into racial prejudice, respectively. The cartoons that respond to increased alien--especially Asian--immigration decidedly reflect both doctrinal conceptions of racial difference and spontaneous, angry foment around a specific, perceived threat to labour practices, morality, Christianity and middle-class living conditions. Doctrinal sources for ideas about race enjoyed a long, philosophical history, but by the late nineteenth century, a significant influence was Herbert Spencer's interpretations of Darwinian theories, familiarly known as social Darwinism. As inheritors of northern European, and especially British, civilization, including its liberal belief in progress, Anglo-Saxons deemed themselves most "fit" to govern and populate Canada. Collette Guillaumin summarizes the historical shape of white European racial dominance thus: "the gradually accumulating doctrines of the existence of races, their inequality, the survival of the fittest, progress, the protection of the weak by the strong, the forward march of peoples, all came to take their place in the construction of the fortress" (56-57).

Added to these cumulative categories accorded white dominance are the specific "Northern" characteristics linking Canada's bracing, cold, climate--including the "whiteness" of snow--with its hardy, resilient, white inhabitants. Echoing sentiments

voiced in a speech by Robert Grant Haliburton in 1869, Carl Berger made clear this conceptual merging of climate, geography and race in his essay more than three decades ago, and it is still instructive today. Although the "northern character" celebrates masculine vigour and strength, it is sympathetic to the feminized allegory of Canada as evinced by Rudyard Kipling's assertion that "Canada is a young, fair and *stalwart* maiden of the north" (qtd in Berger, "True North" 4; emphasis added). Constructions of what Etienne Balibar calls "fictive ethnicity," then, were integral to constructions of "nation," for, as Balibar contends, "to reason any other way would be to forget that 'peoples' do not exist naturally any more than races do But they do have to institute in real (and therefore in historical) time their imaginary unity *against* other possible unities" (Balibar 49). When we examine the "fictive ethnicity" of Anglo-Saxon nationhood that made exclusionary and limited inclusionary practices possible, it is important to recall both fictive ethnicity and the myriad categories of difference with which it is comprised. Note, for example, how Christianity, class and race all converge in this admonition by a fearful Victoria mayor commenting on the rise in Chinese immigration in 1882: "Unless some immediate and urgent steps are taken to restrict this heathen invasion, the rapid deterioration and ultimate extinction of this province as a home for the Anglo-Saxon race must ensue" (qtd. in Ward 11).

Documentary evidence from the early 1900s resounds with doctrinal racial distinctions and eruptions of vituperative protest in a bid to establish a "white man's domain" (McBride 3). In speeches and pamphlets of the period a few things become clear: first, that race, as I have argued, is a conflation of many characteristics; secondly, nation-building is at stake if the tide of immigration could not be stemmed; and thirdly,

these beliefs were flaunted as unchallenged and unalloyed throughout British Columbia. All aspects of Asian peoples' lives--religion, business and labour habits, skin colour, dress and personal living habits (blind to enforced ghetto-ization) and character--illustrated racial distinction and became evidence for exclusion. Characteristics deemed inherent and irremediable were, for example, Japanese taking "false oaths" of citizenship, Hindus' "ingrained deceit," Chinese "inveterate" gambling (Stevens 5; 12; 14). Racial categorizations became part of the framework for nation building as writers extended their claims for B.C. to the country as a whole, "to preserve at all times Canada for the white race" (McBride 8). One Vancouver M.P., H.H. Stevens, described each Asian "menace" (Japanese, Hindu and Chinese) separately, but with a single intent: to prove beyond a doubt that "Oriental races do not in any sense measure up to the standard of citizenship necessary for the proper development of this country" (20). Increasing use of the term "alien," as opposed to "immigrant," placed undesirable groups into an unassimilable category which, argues Caroline Knowles, "specifically excluded [them] as potential nation-building material. Whilst immigrants join . . . a host population, aliens invade it and displace others whose claims have, by implication, a greater priority" (53). In constructing a fictive ethnicity for the future of Canada, these writers were careful to extend their fears beyond the province to the national level. In the interests of achieving a white, Anglo-Saxon nation, provincial and federal politicians delivered categorical statements like "*all* the people of British Columbia and the members of *all* political parties are in thorough accord, and our people are *unanimously* agreed that somewhere such a satisfactory settlement must be reached as will for all time to come keep out the Asiatic immigrants" (Bowser 1; emphasis added). Bowser's inflated oratory was scaled to

the level of the nation when he remarked that "... instead of a British country this will then be a brown men's country--through the influx of Japanese and other Asiatic hordes" (7). The rhetoric speaks of a groundswell of opinion that is broad, deep and unremitting. Yet there was, in fact, a small but articulate counter-discourse from Asian and non-Asian sources.⁵³

It is tempting to view this astonishing output of racist discourse as peculiar to the province of British Columbia since much of the literature takes aim at Ottawa for not excluding Orientals soon enough for British Columbia's liking. Wilfrid Laurier, who claimed he would be guided by liberals of British Columbia concerning immigration, was under pressure from industry and capital interests in the region to allow such immigration for labour purposes. As for Japanese immigration, Laurier was loath to spark an international incident, preferring to honour Britain's 1894 treaty with Japan and rely on a promise from the Japanese government that immigration to Canada would cease. It is important to note, however, that the Laurier government amended the 1906 immigration law, adding in 1908 the "continuous journey" clause, which meant that only Orientals travelling on a continuous journey from India or Japan to their destination could disembark in Canada. Since no shipping lines made such a continuous journey from India and ships from Japan typically stopped at Hawaii, the ruling effectively kept East Indians and many Japanese out.⁵⁴ While anti-Chinese sentiment had been a factor in British Columbia since the early 1880s, federal response, which came in the form of Royal Commissions on Chinese immigration (1884), the Chinese and Japanese Immigration Act (1902), the Oriental Immigration Act (1907), the Immigration Acts of 1901, 1906, 1910 and a series of increases in the head tax from fifty dollars in 1885 to five hundred dollars

in 1903, showed that the federal government was indeed intent upon curtailing Chinese immigration, even if the forces of capital exerted some influence to maintain a stream of Chinese labourers.⁵⁵ As federal legislation suggests, it would be wrong to ascribe tolerance to Canadian leaders outside British Columbia.⁵⁶ After all, it was Sir John A. Macdonald who feared a "mongrel race" for British Columbia while he allowed Chinese work gangs as indentured labour to build the railway. Spontaneous outbursts of racial prejudice may have been largely the preserve of British Columbians, but people elsewhere in Canada subscribed to doctrinal notions of racial difference and inferiority.

If, then, these historical notions of race and difference are contained within the allegorical woman, Miss Canada, through her, ideology and myth perform key functions in the dissemination of a national consciousness: ideology and myth distance, rationalize, sanitize and naturalize any social and historical truth or core of antagonism that might possibly undermine white, Anglo-Saxon hegemony. Because Miss Canada is an ideological "fantasy construction"--a term Slavoj Žižek uses to distinguish from the classical Marxist concept of ideology as illusion--she supports a particular social reality, a reality that is both distant from and cleansed of any social antagonism around issues of race. At the same time, Terry Eagleton reminds us that the "version of reality" must belong to an ideology that is "plausible" and "attractive" to its subjects (15). Eagleton's definition is tantamount to the term hegemony, a word I use often in this study because I believe that discriminating practices and the ideology behind them were consensual within the dominant culture. Myth (again, in the Barthesian sense) functions in these cartoons in a manner that is remarkably similar to ideology. Myth "naturalizes" the image of Miss Canada, emptying the allegorical signifier of contingency, of history, purifying,

and, as Barthes puts it, depoliticizing it (*Mythology* 142). When there is a direct identification between the woman and the nation, however arbitrary and conventional that connection may be, then material, historical reality is distorted or misrecognized, especially when that reality means social, political and racial antagonisms of the nation-state struggling into existence. Under Miss Canada's tutelage and purview, national aims, and the means with which they are achieved, become *faits accomplis*.

Perhaps the most conspicuous, if nonetheless troubling, aspect of the cartoons is the way that gender is deployed in the service of racist discourse. Certainly allegorical representation is often feminized; I am reminded of Marina Warner's words cited earlier in this dissertation: "meanings of all kinds flow through the bodies of women." Writers such as Vron Ware, Ann McClintock, Margaret Jolly and Jenny Sharpe, among many others, have explored the ways that white women figure in colonial racist discourse and as boundary markers for the nation. I am interested in how a visual boundary marker, such as Miss Canada, conforms to feminine codes and how this signifier constructs a masculine national subject for the white homogeneous nation under patriarchy. That Miss Canada's dress and demeanour are highly feminized and sexualized, marks her unequivocally as feminine. The specific category of femininity is that "figuration," writes Griselda Pollock, which "is written onto our bodies, which are then disciplined to perform historically, culturally, and socially specific regimes of sexual difference" (6). Because the image is feminized and is coded in visual language, viewer interest is trained on Miss Canada as the locus of contest. Since, as Mulvey argues, her "appearance [is] coded for strong visual and erotic impact, . . . [it] can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness . . . she holds the look, and plays to and signifies male desire" ("Visual" 116).

Should a female spectator identify with Miss Canada, she will only reify herself as object of the look. The male structuring gaze constructs a male national subject. Miss Canada is the "silent" allegory who "bears" but does not orchestrate meaning.

Indeed, the story upon which the cartoon is shaped features Miss Canada as the end or prize. As a locus of contest, her consent, capture or censure will be won at all costs. In these cartoons, where she is the boundary between the nation's Anglo-Saxon purity and immigrant hordes, her moral sanction is its own reward. She is enacting a biological and social imperative of femininity, and has taken her place in the symbolic order as bearer of meaning. Like the sphinx in the Oedipal story,⁵⁷ she may pose a riddle or gainsay an answer, but the story, the quest, is not hers. As Margaret Whitford explains in her discussion of the work of Luce Irigaray, "for male systems of representation and discourse . . . woman is the resource and the reserve of the male subject" (27-28). If Miss Canada is an object to-be-looked-at, a repository of male desire, an actor in a masculine narrative and a maternal feminine body reproducing (both literally and figuratively) white sons for the nation, why, then, do the cartoons portray her as a boundary? Is she not vulnerable to alien invasions that loom menacingly within the cartoon's frame? In answer to these questions I reiterate that an irreconcilable, ideological gap exists in signification between the feminized allegory of nation and the growing patriarchal nation-state. Moreover, the apparent vulnerability of Miss Canada speaks to her nation's greatest fear: miscegenation.⁵⁸ Slavoj Žižek's discussion of "the nation thing" in *Looking Awry*, offers a useful intervention here:

If we apprehend the [national] Cause as the Freudian Thing (*Das Ding*), materialized enjoyment, it becomes clear why it is precisely 'nationalism'

that is the privileged domain of the eruption of enjoyment into the social field What is at stake in ethnic tensions is always the possession of the National Thing: the "other" wants to steal our enjoyment (by ruining our way of life) The basic paradox is that our Thing is conceived as something inaccessible to the other and at the same time threatened by him (165)

If we characterize Miss Canada as "materialized enjoyment," or the Nation's Thing, then we can clarify the paradox of her desirability and her apparent vulnerability. As I have demonstrated, the stakes for the nation were high precisely because of the many facets of "difference" that conflate into the term "race." That homogeneity was deemed necessary on many fronts, including the sexual, makes fear of miscegenation cut to the heart of a "way of life." Miscegenation was the frightening scourge that white detractors augured with alarm: "it is when we contemplate these unnatural unions that we find the kernel of the Asiatic problem--the mixing of the races. Race mixture is the essential danger of the Asiatic occupation of the country for race mixture means race deterioration" (qtd. in Roy 18). Miss Canada, as nubile young "Thing" or as mother of the nation, was the very site of and source for that homogeneity: she reproduces middle-class Canada, and therefore must prevent miscegenation while she embodies the fears around it.

Racial boundary cartoons are very much part of a cultural, linguistic, bureaucratic and legal phenomenon which sought to define a homogeneously white Anglo-Saxon national subject while it worked to contain, and even efface, non-white, immigrant alien "others." But is this face of Miss Canada so very different from the versions I have described thus far? Commonalities of race, class and gender invoke a similar

representation although the terms and material effects of history may change. It must be remembered that by the early 1900s, Miss Canada is a familiar figure to newspaper and magazine audiences; moral integrity and embodiment of imperial, indigenous and national co-ordinates make her a suitable, congenial and stable functionary for the building of nation.

While a raced, classed Miss Canada shares outward and ideological features of previous incarnations, Miss Canada of the reciprocity debate in 1911 reflects both broad and subtle variations which orchestrate a more nuanced cultural image. These cartoons pay more attention to narrative, especially to melodrama, and their version of Miss Canada is decidedly "modern," ranging from a regular "gal" to a stylish "Gibson Girl," to a composed "New Woman." Before determining how these cartoons read differently in terms of national ideology, I will revisit an earlier Miss Canada featured in a cartoon about Macdonald's national policy. From there we can see the source of the courtship and rescue narratives and the inevitable bogey of annexation that lies behind many of the reciprocity cartoons.

Courtship narratives are common in cartoons from the earliest period of confederation (figure #48 "A Pertinent Question"), but their more sinister versions typically revolve around a period of perceived danger for Canadian sovereignty. "Miss Canada's Rescuer" (figure #5) is a good example of the deep anxieties surrounding Canada/ U.S. trade relations which cannot be considered without the attendant threat of annexation. This cartoon focuses on Macdonald's national policy and was published for the election campaign of 1890. The first frame shows Miss Canada fleeing Uncle Sam's villainous henchmen amid his cries of "Seize her fellows! Now's Your Chance! Ah ha!

Miss Canada, you shall not escape!" The second frame shows the unctuous retreat of the villains thanks to Macdonald's pistol-wielding (but nevertheless polite--"I think you had better call some other day gentlemen") rescue of the fair Miss Canada. As discussed in my introduction, this cartoon is an ideal example of melodrama because of its clear demarcations of good and evil and reliance on gesture, but also of Barthesian myth because of the way that ideological terms are cloaked in grand, sweeping, mythic gestures typical of melodrama. Miss Canada's safety is secured through her brave champion, Macdonald and, as implied by the figure of the British lion, through strong ties to the mother country; however, the message is de-politicized by melodrama's amplification of narrative and oversimplification of history.

It is important to digress here in order to situate precisely how melodrama functions in the cartoons. A brief overview of theories of melodrama and their influence on my use of the term will direct its meaning accordingly. Peter Brooks discusses melodrama's place in modernity, its clear moral demarcations and reliance upon the figure and the gesture in his historical study of melodrama's origins and continuing appeal. Christine Gledhill, preparing a foundation for her work on the melodramatic woman's film, argues that nineteenth-century capitalism's success and bourgeois "excess" led to an inward turn to the "Edenic home and family" (21) and its attendant heroine, Coventry Patmore's 'angel in the house.' Domestic settings, which become more important in 1950s melodrama, stem in part from "melodrama's invariable deployment of familial values across sub-genres attest[ing] to a psychic overdetermination in the conjunction of social and personal, charging the idea of home and family with a symbolic potency" (21). We see this emphasis on the domestic and on the female protagonist in

Miss Canada cartoons since the settings are often domestic or at least bounded and contained, and since she is most often cast in a role as mother, daughter or sweetheart. In order to explain the emotional register of these cartoons and their courtship or rescue narratives, however, it is necessary to address the finer points of classical stage melodrama, rather than the genre of 1950s melodrama or women's film. Drawing on the work of Brooks, Gledhill and several other scholars,⁵⁹ and noting the many variations of melodrama over the past century, Ben Singer calls the term a "cluster concept . . . whose meaning varies from case to case in relation to different configurations of a range of basic features or constitutive factors" (44). Singer's five "constitutive factors" correspond most amenable to cartoon melodrama and they are as follows: pathos, overwrought emotion, moral polarization, non-classical narrative structure and sensationalism.

Pathos, the pity audiences derive from identification with an "undeserving victim" (Singer 45), could not exist without moral polarization: in order for the victim to evoke pity, she must be as good as the villain is bad. Responding to the "anxiety" brought on by modernity's "moral disarray," melodrama "ameliorated it through utopian moral clarity" (45). Viewing the cartoons, the audience is compelled to identify with the victim, Miss Canada, and to revile the villain, Uncle Sam. Moral polarization is a way for the artist to clarify a very muddy moral dilemma: trade reciprocity is not in itself inherently "bad," but the threat of annexation is a barely concealed fear and source of extreme anxiety. This anxiety is thus transformed into a moral dilemma. As I will later demonstrate using examples from reciprocity cartoons, the courtship narratives cannot be considered as distinct from more sinister rescue plots. Anxiety is present in courtship scenes for two reasons: first the dalliance is between a young, vulnerable and innocent Miss Canada and

a wizened, sly Uncle Sam (and, in some cases, President Taft, an imposing, corpulent older gentleman); the gendered power imbalance is thus obvious. Secondly, the courtship narrative places the female protagonist, Miss Canada, in a position of objectification and even of titillation, so the audience is directed to see her coyly delaying but not denying her role in the symbolic order.⁶⁰ This condition is one we have also encountered in the racial boundary cartoons. I prefer to think of the courtship and sinister rescue narratives as operating along the same narrative continuum.

In simple, one or two frame cartoons, overwrought emotion is manifested in gesture, so that we read "heightened states of emotive urgency, tension and tribulation" (Singer 45) in extended or contorted limbs, grimaces and fight-or-flight response. As for non-classical narrative structure, Singer points to "outrageous coincidence, implausibility, convoluted plotting, *deus ex machina* resolutions, and episodic strings of action" (46). There is no antecedent action in the cartoons, so the plot is anything but plausible. Furthermore, the audience catches the action *in medias res*, and, by *deus ex machina* or a happy coincidence, Miss Canada's champion simply appears out of nowhere to save her from capture, rape or possibly even death--we are never really sure. Sensationalism, "defined as an emphasis on action, violence, thrills, awesome sights, and spectacles of physical terror," while "crucial to a great deal of popular melodrama" (48), is less prevalent in the cartoons. We do, however, witness action in bodily gesture, and certainly violence (or at least the threat of it) and even, in one or two instances, "spectacles of physical terror." Notice in figure #10 how the artist parodies Fuseli's incubus in the shape of the Catholic clergy, poised to violate Miss Canada, or how in figure #9 a grotesque Saturnalian monster fairly thrusts her into his gaping maw. These

more sensational examples are admittedly highly satiric, but, all the same, they employ basic melodramatic principles and especially "spectacles of physical terror." A final characteristic derived from classical melodrama which clearly applies to cartoons is the tableau. Tableau allowed the audience to see a dramatic, moral dilemma as a set piece of "arrested action . . . in an arrangement that starkly revealed the dramatic conflict among opposing parties" (Singer 41). Because of the static precincts of an illustrative genre, the necessary simplicity of the figures in clearly defined poses and the delimitation of the frame, cartoons may be described as not merely employing tableau but defining it.

Although 1911 reciprocity cartoons do not represent a coherent set, they do constitute an array of similarly styled illustrations by various artists, featuring Miss Canada as a locus of contest. By far the greatest number of them are courtship or seduction narratives with John Bull, Uncle Sam or President Taft as ardent suitors. The cartoons fall into categories which may be described as initial overture, serenade, seduction and, finally, rebuff. While each cartoon tells its own story, taken together they form a whole narrative trajectory. In an "overture" cartoon by A.G. Racey of the *Montreal Star* (a conservative paper and therefore anti-reciprocity), John Bull offers Miss Canada a bouquet labelled "preference in British markets" (figure #61), a reference to Canada's promised Preferential Trade initiative of 1897. Miss Canada, her legs hobbled by reciprocity, is prevented from accepting the bouquet. The proposed relationship is a curious one, however, for how can the daughter of Britannia accept a courtship initiative from John Bull? If he is not her father, he is certainly an older uncle of sorts. These incestuous tendencies may not have been lost on the cartoon audience, but from this historical vantage point, they are a reminder that requisites of the courtship narrative

cartoons insist on matrimony as the legal, binding end to *any* relationship, whether with Britain or the U.S. This matrimonial arrangement speaks to Canada's subordination in international affairs, a state reminiscent of negotiations going back at least as far as the Washington Treaty of 1871.

In another "overture" cartoon parodying Homer's *Odyssey* (figure #62), Racey compares Canada with Penelope, beset with suitors until the return of "Ulysses Public," who may save her come election time. By her look of alarm, one infers that she is clearly intimidated by her suitors, Taft and Uncle Sam, who leer expectantly from their corner of the illustration. The tableau is melodramatic, since the drawing balances the "evil" suitors on the right with the innocent and "good" "Penelope" on the left. Her gestures show alarm: she reaches with one arm and half turns as if wishing to flee her fate. As I have made known, gestures demonstrate action in a tableau, but they also allow the audience to register moral polarization and the conflict arising from its externalization. The "joke" lies in the cartoon's parody, but the underlying content is more ominous: what would Taft and Uncle Sam do with "Penelope" if she were to succumb? In the Homeric version of the story, the suitors were dangerous and insistent. Suddenly what looks like an initial overture becomes a melodramatic plot with sinister possibilities.

But melodrama can be parodied too, and Taft can come across as much as a buffoon or bungler as a suitor with lascivious designs. The unsigned cartoon with the caption, "I'll Save You" ("The Life Saver" figure #36) shows him diving headlong into shallow, rocky, waters of reciprocity to rescue Miss Canada who stands confidently in her bathing costume and insists that she does not need saving. The lifesaver attached to Taft's toe gives the lie to his altruistic intention, however, as it is marked "annexation

bogey." I will comment further on how Miss Canada is fashioned as a plucky "New Woman," but for the moment it is important to note how even the most light-hearted cartoons betray deeper anxieties about Canada's future at the hands of the United States.

While she is being serenaded (Racey figure #63), Miss Canada is permitted a little saucy repartee: "Johnny, unchain Vote and sic him at those cheeky nuisances outside," she quips, referring to a florid chorus including Taft, Uncle Sam, U.S. Trusts and Hearst who chime "We're Waiting, Yes, Waiting for Thee-e-e." Since she is protected by "Vote," which may dismantle the reciprocity pact altogether, Miss Canada can afford to slight the suitors in so firm a manner. Another serenade version (figure #64) from the *Montreal Daily Witness* depicts Miss Canada letting Uncle Sam down more gently. Sammy croons ardently to Miss Canada: "O list fair maid, whilst unto thee/ I sing of love's desire/ If you will only join with me/ we'll set the world afire," to which Miss Canada replies, "O quench your ardour, stop your band/ To Britain I'll always be true;/ But as you're a son of our dear old land/ I'll be a sister to you." She rejects Uncle Sam's serenade, deciding in favour of Britain, but these matrimonial terms again fix her in a legally subordinate relationship, without which she might have to opt for Uncle Sam's passionate advances.

Cartoons whose plots I have categorized as "seduction" take the state of courtship one step further. Perhaps fearing that reciprocity may go ahead or, indeed, challenging that it ought to, some artists drew Miss Canada in intimate poses and compromising positions with Uncle Sam. Two such cartoons, "The Public Guardian: 'Hey There,' " reprinted from the *Philadelphia Record* in *Saturday Night* and "The Great Reciprocity Game. Her Move"⁶¹ by J. M. Groner, also in *Saturday Night*, show Miss Canada in cosy

têtes à têtes with Uncle Sam. In the former (figure #65), she looks adoringly into his eyes while the "Public Guardian" a.k.a. "Food Trust" remarks "Hey There" in clear disapproval of their "spooning." In the latter (figure #34), Miss Canada recoils from or reaches for (the image is deliberately ambiguous) Uncle Sam's hands, and stares at his ogling grin as if aware that the stakes are high and she must carefully consider her next move. The artists here have crossed a boundary of sexual taboo by engaging the characters in such intimacy. Introducing a sexual economy to the courtship narratives alters the power dynamic significantly. Miss Canada is now objectified, commodified in ways that we have seen in chapter one when she is closely associated with commodity and nation and used in such a way as to sell products on the market, building the nation through the consumption of goods. Having crossed this threshold, will she then be "used goods" if the courtship founders?

The final stage of this narrative trajectory was decided by the September federal election when Laurier lost on his reciprocity ticket to Conservative Robert Borden. Rebuffed by Miss Canada, Uncle Sam stares incredulously at the returned ring and "Dear John" letter in "Well, I'll be Gol Durned" (figure #66), and is nearly knocked over by surprise at her rejection in "The Cut Direct" (figure #6). The way that this narrative has progressed from overture, to serenade, to seduction and finally to rebuff illustrates how a complex and politically charged issue can be glossed over and constrained by the courtship narrative. The cartoons effectively trivialize an uncertain and sensitive time. Directly below the cartoon, "The Cut Direct," is the by-line, "Fear Defeat of Pact May Mean Bad Relations" reported from the British Press. The text picks up the matrimonial trope: "A new situation has now been created as when a proposal of marriage is rejected

by a lady. There is real danger at least the effect may be a revival of the jealousies and suspicions which accompanied the denunciation of the Elgin Treaty" ("Fear Defeat"). The courtship narrative, directed as it is towards matrimony as a normative condition, domesticates the ideology of trade relations and, in so doing, insulates the debate from rancour and fear. As this chapter has elucidated, the allegory performs an ideological function by distancing and cleansing social trauma. But, in the case of the reciprocity debate, the effects of this ideological work are to produce both a consoling fiction *and* a necessary tempering element. As a survey of print discourse from the period will show, reciprocity was a long-standing, emotionally fraught issue which brought annexation fears to the surface. In some cases, partisan politics were abandoned in favour of deeply held convictions. Before I review the debate in its historical context, however, I will analyze more closely this particular female allegory within constructions of womanhood and cultural norms of the day.

In every reciprocity cartoon featuring Miss Canada,⁶² she is, in the very least, a "modern" regular "gal" and, on occasion, as I have indicated above, a "New Woman" or "Gibson Girl" type. I am interested in the effects of these representations and how they signify differently from the familiar classical allegories. Positioning Miss Canada as an emblem of popular modernity emphasizes the drive for and cultural awareness of modernity and Canada's place in that milieu. The artists chose to depict Canada as distinctly modern, and, more importantly, to have their audiences view her as such. This representation speaks to the desire that nations position themselves in relation to the future; they must imagine a future as they have constructed a past. By the early twentieth century there was much talk in Canadian media of modernity⁶³ and urbanity as well as

statistics on urban growth, gains in the manufacturing sector and an increase of consumer goods and power. In some measure, this "new" Miss Canada may be credited to the ways that women were defining themselves differently, especially in urban spaces: in careers, at universities, and in the work of urban reform. Because Miss Canada is a cipher, with little or no relationship to historical women, I suggest that her stylized form has more to do with perceptions of urbanity, modernity and the nation's future than about images of "real" women, although I concede some influence from cultural norms. Cheerful, confident, plucky Miss Canada, such as the one in the bathing scene, owes something to ideas about the "New Woman." By the early twentieth century, the image of the "New Woman" was less of an austere, abstemious and strange species than an intelligent, stylish "girl about town" like the Gibson Girl. Artists may have fielded their choices of dress and demeanour from the very newspapers to which they sold their cartoons, the same media, as I point out in chapter one, that were engaged in constructing and disseminating images of ideal beauty. It is useful to remember that artists were reproducing certain cultural co-ordinates and constructed values in their representations of Miss Canada.

Youth and beauty signify in ways that return my point to courtship narrative structure. In each case, Miss Canada is positioned as a young "sweetheart," not as a maternal figure as is often seen in classical allegory or even in racial boundary cartoons where she appears in contemporary dress but as mother of the nation. Her youth aligns with vulnerability and so with sexual conquest. In the cartoon examples discussed, the fact that Miss Canada is wooed without advice or protection from Mother Britannia signals a belief in her independence but also a reminder of her vulnerability in relation to

her suitors. The undercurrent of sexual conquest encourages the viewer to examine power differentials. Artists have staked out a sexual economy in choosing a courtship narrative. But, while feminization of space (such as the nation-space) emphasizes its propensity to be mapped, contained, bounded and thus domesticated, a sexual economy troubles this notion somewhat. Sue Best points out how this "very same production [of feminized space] also underscores an anxiety about this 'entity' and the precariousness of its boundedness" (183). Miss Canada's vulnerability is counter-balanced by a *frisson* of excess, temptation and sexual power. Reading youth, beauty and vulnerability in this way permits a more thorough analysis. The ideology and cultural manifestations of womanhood, the stress placed upon sexualized space as bounded and contained and the potential for its rupture or escape make these versions of Miss Canada less ideologically pure and more nuanced, indeed. The young nation, while fixed upon modernity and the future is, to some degree, a wild card. A young, nubile woman as the locus of contest unfixes ideologically determined views of the nation in crisis. Circulation of the reciprocity issue in the press and in public addresses reflects uncertainty and anxiety paralleling this freighted version of Miss Canada. It is to this range of ideas that I turn my attention next.

One infers that the National Policy by its very name was intended for nation building, but, more than a slogan for the national scope of railway construction, it was essentially a tariff wall intended to encourage a fledgling Canadian manufacturing industry and promote inter-provincial markets.⁶⁴ Wisely remembering the U.S. abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, the debacle of the Washington Treaty in 1871 and the U.S. senate's derailing of a liberal reciprocity initiative in 1874 led by rival

George Brown, not to mention Macdonald's own electioneering shenanigans involving railway contracts and campaign funds, Macdonald set the course for prosperity through tariff protection. Notwithstanding a protectionist economic culture, several delegations, in 1891, 1892, 1896 and 1898 attempted but failed to secure a treaty based on the principles of reciprocity. This history of reciprocity initiatives and the 1897 trade preference for Britain were Canada's inheritance in the early twentieth century. Ironically, it was Laurier who touted Canada's illustrious place within the British Empire, and is quoted to have said, "we have put all our hopes upon the British trade now" ("Reciprocity Agreement" 135), yet it was Laurier who based the terms of debate in the 1911 election on reciprocity with the U.S. By 1911, reciprocity had already undergone a thorough historical accounting⁶⁵ and an encouraging debate in its support from American media sources.⁶⁶ Despite promises from liberal ministers that the treaty presented "no occasion for alarm" for manufacturers because manufactured products would be affected "very slightly" (Stratton 16), many of the most rational detractors, while listing reasonable economic arguments, eventually succumbed to fear mongering.

It is difficult to determine where electioneering bombast ends and deep-seated and genuine fears begin, but critics of the Liberal platform ultimately leaned on loyalty to Britain and her markets and on fears that annexation would soon follow inevitable commercial union should the pact enter into treaty. One Liberal dissenter, speaking against reciprocity, was reported to have urged his audience that "the destiny of Canada lay within the British Empire, which providence had made the greatest single influence for good in the world today," and warned that "President Taft and his friends intend that Canada and the United States shall be one ultimately if it can be accomplished" (W.T.

White). The Liberal-Conservative policy handbook cited Taft's own words from a speech delivered 17 April, 1911 to the Associated Press and American Newspaper Publisher's Association to prove unequivocally that the United States proposed "to use Restricted Reciprocity as a lever to procure complete commercial union" and "ultimately to bring about annexation" ("The Reciprocity Agreement" 137). According to this document, loyalty to Britain risked sabotage because the Fielding-Knox agreement would "render impossible any organization of a system of trade preferences in the British Empire" (139). Laurier's position on the annexation fear was to debunk it as "sheer nonsense," and on the loyalty card to dismiss it as an "insult" to Canadians ("Laurier Quotes").

One editorial whose goal was to quell "the anti-American spirit" flourishing during the campaign, succeeded in the opposite effect through rhetorical manoeuvres. First decrying anti-American "hostility," the author continues with a litany of American 'crimes' against Canada over the previous hundred years. An audience of this editorial would find it hard to follow the advice not to sow the "seed" of animosity whose "danger lies in the harvest" ("Anti-American"). Following Borden's definitive victory on 21 September, one newspaper commentator called "the dominant characteristic of Canada's national spirit . . . [the] determination that Canada must work out her own salvation" ("Letters"). Rejection of reciprocity for this writer points to the birth of a new nationalism, a mere day after the election. Amid such mixed and emotionally charged signals from media and political discourse, one thing is clear: reciprocity was a disturbing issue which could not be contained or allayed by economic arguments. Rooted in historical fears, reciprocity meant the untamed, unrestrained and unstable unknown. Little wonder that artists employed sexual vulnerability and excess in their images of Miss

Canada in courtship narratives. Threats to sovereignty and to imperial succour required a redefinition of national identity, one that was as unwelcome as Miss Canada's eager suitors. Although the terms of this debate are fraught with jingoistic fears, it is interesting to note that recent scholarship contradicts the idea that Laurier lost on the reciprocity issue. Using empirical methods of studying election results, Eugene Beaulieu and J.C. Herbert Emery conclude that "Laurier's only, but fatal miscalculation concerned the political strength of farm-based pork packers, particularly in Quebec, and their perceptions of the importance of tariff protection for their incomes" (1099). This finding makes media alarm in the debate all the more complex and problematic. The way that facts of the case have been "made to speak" (Žižek) indicates the constructedness in ideological representations of the nation in crisis.

While by no means an end to Miss Canada in cartoons and other media, the final images I will address in this chapter mark both an end to this discussion of national ideology in allegorical representation and a beginning of a "new" construction of national identity. In "A New Canadian National Spirit" by A.G. Racey (*Montreal Star* 1918; figure # 35), and in "Canada's Share in War, Victory, and Peace" (*Quebec Chronicle* 1920; figure #67) the image of Miss Canada merges and conflates the "old," classical, imperial allegory--the daughter of Britannia--and the "new," modern embodiment of the nation. True to constructions of nation, then, these versions recall a singular historical past and anticipate a brave and glorious future. As ideological constructs, however, the cartoons' forth-and-back tendencies, fixed in the allegorical image and frame, neglect the material effects of history, obliterating any discomfiture instigated by state functions, or indeed bloodshed, pain and loss occasioned by World War I. While many Canadians felt

the surge of pride in nationhood following the war, many others remembered the divisiveness engendered by, among other events, Ontario's Regulation 17 and the Conscription crisis. In both the Racey cartoon and the *Quebec Chronicle* illustration, the nation is proffered while the state is disavowed through allegory and myth. My reading hinges on this disavowal, this ideological move. My aim, then, is to de-naturalize these versions of Miss Canada, and, in so doing, foreground the occult historic Canadian state.

Because this allegory is so suggestive of typical national allegories such as Britannia, Marianne, Columbia and allegorical ideals of Justice or Peace, it is a singularly empty sign, a shell, or, as Theresa Kelley puts it, "an impervious, material cover" (256). It is as if the same image of a voluptuous woman could be filled up with any national significance of choice. Allegory here is crucial to the work that ideology performs because these female historical antecedents are almost interchangeable with this woman, Miss Canada, who naturalizes nationhood through a culturally familiar face and figure. While a national allegory may parade as a "natural" signifier for the nation, it is anything but. I re-emphasize Barthes's contention that as a second-order signification operating adjacent to language, myth turns history into nature; it "naturalizes" the image, emptying the allegorical signifier of contingency, of history, purifying, and, as Barthes puts it, "depoliticizing it" (*Mythology* 142). As I have hitherto argued, myth may be described as a way that ideology works within representations, while allegory's vacuity and interchangeability make it a suitable ideological tool because it empties the sign of particularity and of historical significance. In the Racey cartoon, Miss Canada's accoutrements of shield, cornucopia and maple leaf provide the only clues as to the location of this nation-space. In the *Quebec Chronicle*, the title, "Canada's Share in War,

Victory, and Peace," the Union Jack and scattered maple leaves situate the image in a Canadian context. The illustrations are highly stylized, idealized depictions of Miss Canada, recalling the classical drapery--complete with loose folds, a sweeping train and Empire waistline--of earlier cartoons from the 1870s (figures #1 and #68). Miss Canada emerges from the clouds in a flood of sunshine, with one hand pointing heavenward, while in Racey's version the other arm encircles a cornucopia of the nation's bounty. She balances a maple leaf shield against her leg. The caption, in the form of a cloth banner, reads: "A New Canadian National Spirit." The *Quebec Chronicle* Miss Canada is in a similar attitude except that she holds a flag and Victory wreath. The cartoons illustrate great hope and promise following the devastation of World War I. In the *Quebec Chronicle* she is flanked by two images: one the honorable past in the form of a battle scene (with no war dead visible, of course), and the other a powerful future suggested by the prospect of healthy, robust industry. The moniker "National Spirit" in "Evolution," indicates a not unprecedented, but certainly unambiguous, invocation to nationhood: Canada has been forged into this shape of an independent, courageous, modern and, above all, unified nation through its role in the Great War.

The state, occluded by this signification, has not, however, disappeared; it is merely hiding. The slow, violent and painful process of "coming of age" into nationhood, including divisive, rancorous issues such as French language restrictions in Ontario schools, known as Regulation 17, and the conscription crisis, is sanitized and etherealized by the broad sweep performed by allegory and myth. These are the theoretical terms through which I will demonstrate ideological coordinates and show how the state is indeed a palpable presence behind the cultural form. The issues I bring to bear are

particularly relevant examples of crisis in French Canada, given the fact that "Evolution" and "Canada's Share . . ." both appeared in Montreal English-language newspapers and magazines, respectively. Examining the cartoons alone will not bring this absence of the state and historical crisis into presence, even in relation to other cartoons of Miss Canada. However, historical analysis will foreground those moments that Miss Canada conceals.

Barely noticeable at the top of the Racey cartoon is the title, "Evolution," a word which points to a teleology. Who or what has Miss Canada emerged from, and towards what might she progress from here? I will leave the latter question for the moment, but, as for the former, I recall images discussed earlier (figures #1 and #48), chosen randomly as to their dates and artists but deliberately for the way that they show the mother/daughter relationship between Miss Canada and Britannia or the familiar classical styling: drapery, wreath or helmet, shield or banner, sandals or bare feet. Features of classical allegory connect these Miss Canada figures temporally to historical antecedents as far back as Greek mythological figures such as Athena or Nike, lending historical weight and legitimacy to them. This daughter, who stands in for Canada, is sustained by the protection, admonishment or approval offered by her mother Britannia, which, in turn, registers as strong historical, economic, cultural and political ties and obligations to Britain, but also as anxiety around identity politics. As an emblem of dominion in the British Empire, Miss Canada occasionally strains at her yoke in the international arena where her powers are limited. We have seen this struggle in the Washington Treaty cartoons. Even in 1918, when Canada became a *de facto* nation on the fields of Europe, she was still a dominion in a *de jure* sense until the Balfour Declaration of 1926⁶⁷ and, most especially, the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931.⁶⁸ Considering the

affirmation of classical styling in "Evolution" and "Canada's Share . . .," how must we read this allegory of nation? To what does she owe her particular national character? After all, Miss Canada as a mother of nation or a contemporary "regular gal" was quite common in cartoon images, and had been for some time (reciprocity is a good reference point for this), so the artists could have chosen modern versions. Recalling foundational theorists such as Benedict Anderson outlined at the beginning of this chapter, I reiterate that nations must be seen to be simultaneously ancient and hoary and new and pristine. These versions of Miss Canada are ancient in their classical complements but altogether new in specific ways: a banner reading "A New Canadian National Spirit," her emergence from the clouds in a flood of sunshine evoking a "new day" (above the detritus of Europe, in the Racey cartoon), her bold return of the look back to the viewer and even, to a lesser extent, her pert, contemporary hairstyles all signify newness, freshness, modernity and progress. Thus the allegory, like most cultural representations of nation, contains the venerable past while it anticipates the limitless future.

In order for the image to function as ideology, however, certain aspects of the past must be selectively forgotten. These are the irremediable, divisive moments of recent history that are cloaked by mythic de-politicization. From this litany of ignominious and repressive state functions (Ontario's Regulation 17, the Wartime Elections Act, which disenfranchised "aliens" who took the oath of allegiance after 1902, a War Measures Act which enabled the government to "rule by decree" [Sprague 145], the introduction of income tax and the Military Service Act of 1917 which paved the way for conscription), I have chosen to focus on Regulation 17 and Conscription because they fuelled an already

explosive relationship between French and English Canada. Quebec nationalism was fortified by these wartime crises.

In spite of its origins in Ontario French language rights, Regulation 17 cannot be considered as separate from the war effort because it followed, helped to explain and may perhaps have encouraged the decrease in French-Canadian voluntarism in recruitment. As French Canadians felt more distant from what was described as a European, imperialist War,⁶⁹ they felt even more alienated by "The Prussians next door" in Ontario. Although separate, Roman Catholic schools were a right guaranteed by the BNA Act, French language schools were not. They developed in Ontario through demographics and custom. In 1910, Roman Catholic Bishop of London Michael Fallon complained in a meeting with Ontario M.P.P. W.J. Hanna that children in these schools were not receiving the same standard of education as in public schools where English was the language of instruction. A report of this meeting was leaked to the press, an inquiry launched by the department of Education and, in 1915, Regulation 17 put into effect as an act of the provincial parliament. Later, "a Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the law" (Sprague 144). What this ruling meant was that children had to be taught in English after the first form (grade two or three), and in French not more than an hour a day in the upper forms. Of the two inspectors who must visit the schools, one had to be English and the other was not guaranteed to be either French speaking or Roman Catholic.

Reaction to Regulation 17, swift, irate and enduring, enlisted the help of articulate Quebecers like Henri Bourassa and his vehicle *Le Devoir*, in the pages of which he argued that

[t]he whole problem of the French language and of French survival is being raised in Ontario. For Canada, for all in America, it is not on the battlefields of Europe that survival will be maintained or extinguished The enemies of the French language, of French Civilization in Canada are not on the beaches or the shores of the Spree; but the English-Canadian anglicizers, the Orange intriguers, or Irish priests. (Qtd. in Copp and Tate 23).

In this admittedly persuasive and sweeping rhetoric, one can hear the resounding chords of ethno-linguistic and ethno-religious tensions. It quickly became apparent that, despite appeals made to the federal government, the state provided no legal recourse for minority language rights at the provincial level. Short of re-writing the Treaty of Paris, in an impossible clarity of hindsight,⁷⁰ politicians, clerics, parents and sympathizers had only their protests to alleviate their sense of injustice. In *La Vérité*, French language pastors of Ottawa registered their protest, stating

We rank it [Regulation 17] among those things which are so odious and disastrous that we could never try them. Who would blame the Belgians and the French for not having assented to testing under protest, the German Invasion? ("Denunciation" qtd. in Zucchi 71)

Again the war is invoked as a parallel to the kinds of repressive measures experienced by French Canadians. While this comparison may not have helped their cause, particularly with Anglo-Canadians, it certainly draws attention to the rhetorical parameters commentators were willing to stretch in order to publicize a deep and profound injustice perpetrated by the Ontario provincial government and sanctioned by the Canadian state.

Conscription may have had its detractors, from western farmers to Wilfrid Laurier himself, but it was in Quebec and French-speaking communities outside that province that the idea of conscription was adamantly associated with repressive state functions and with outmoded attendance on Britain's imperial causes. Riots in Montreal on 24 May 1917 followed the mere suggestion made by Prime Minister Robert Borden on 18 May that conscription would be necessary. Unable to convince Laurier to join with him in a Union government to expedite conscription, Borden chose a more devious if politically astute method of gaining public approbation. His Solicitor General, Arthur Meighen, drafted a Military Voters Act that relaxed voting regulations for enlisted men and allowed wives, widows, mothers and sisters of soldiers and other military personnel to vote⁷¹; thereby, he expanded the base of support for the cause of conscription.⁷² The passing of the Military Service Bill in 1917 could not have elicited a more discordant response. As Susan Mann Trofimenkoff notes, Bourassa likened the bill to "national suicide for a foreign cause" while *The Globe* "referred to conscription as fresh dedication to the cause of liberty" (389). Debate was so acrimonious that talk of Quebec's secession was broached in that province's legislature, but protest became more obdurate than even fiery rhetoric in the press could summon: three days of rioting in Quebec city in the Spring of 1918 was the most demonstrable evidence of discontent to date (Trofimenkoff 191). Berger puts the effects of this crisis most succinctly: "few events revealed the fragility of Canadian unity so dramatically as the conscription crisis of 1917" ("Introduction"vii).

By calling more attention to the French-Canadian side of this issue, I do not mean to suggest that the war itself was not a crisis, that there were no other dissenting voices against conscription, that not to address falling recruitment in some way would have been

deeply disrespectful to those soldiers who had already lost their lives or those facing impending casualty or that Canada was the only country to enact conscription. Indeed, Canada's move followed that of many other nations. What I hope to provide is a sense of the widening crevasse between French and English Canada and an acknowledgement that, no matter how one defined one's nationalism, a state apparatus and state functioning were proceeding apace. Regulation 17 and Conscription are only two highlights (or lowlights) of how such measures were experienced. Trofimenkoff provides an overview of these kinds of interventions:

Justified by the war and facilitated by the War Measures Act, various controls from rationing to price fixing, from decrees against hoarding to those against loitering, probably overwhelmed the civil service more than anyone else, but they did indicate the state's willingness to go beyond persuasion to actual coercion in directing the activities of its citizens.

(388)

It is perhaps fitting that Racey's cartoon and the *Quebec Chronicle* illustration of Miss Canada appeared so closely on the heels of these historical crises and in Anglophone Quebec publications at that. Against such gaping disunity, she reads like a numinous cipher for a unified, integrated national embodiment. This is the kind of identity which is delivered back to the viewer, in celebration of things remembered, in defiance of things forgotten. As a cultural representation, she must answer to those other, historical representations coming to us in textual form from the realm of the "absent cause," to repeat Althusser's term for history. While allegory and myth can be held to account for the glossing of history and the adumbration of "state" in national, cultural

representations, the effect of de-naturalizing Miss Canada is to bring the hyhenated space into presence. She may look more freighted and complicated than alluring, ephemeral images at first allow. Allegorical Miss Canada is recognizable enough in her dress and demeanor, but note the ways that the past has been exonerated and the future glorified. Again, mythic nature forecloses upon history and the state, paving the way for the forward progress of the nation.

Ending this chapter with post-World War I images of Miss Canada from 1918 and 1920 is perhaps logical and fitting since the war represents a definitive crisis in the lives and imaginations of Canadians, but, as an ideological construct, Miss Canada is neither so definitive nor so easily measurable. In the many historical moments studied here, Miss Canada proves to be a useful if slippery cultural construct. Functioning as a screen for identity politics in Canada's problematic and recursive movement from dominion to nation, as a moral arbiter and mask for the state and its relationship to capital, as a barely concealed foil for historical crisis and as a gauge for uncertainty and anxiety in the political and social realm, she indeed plays multiple allegorical roles. While this chapter has examined how Miss Canada leavens and alleviates darker flash points of history at the expense of debate, it also points to how she consoles the subject viewer in the face of these crises. She encourages the championing of national causes and the donning of national subjectivity. The danger has been, and will continue to be, how the boundaries of subjectivity are drawn, in such a way as to privilege a white Anglo-Saxon cultural imaginary. Notwithstanding her peculiarly visual coordinates and resonance, Miss Canada appears in other forms of cultural expression and in more recent historical times. The task of the chapter to follow will be to examine female allegory and a culture of

womanhood in the literary field and, subsequently, in chapter four to trace Miss Canada's less frequent but enduring place in political cartoons and, primarily, to examine her corporeal embodiment in photographs and in film footage of the national beauty pageant.

Chapter 3

The Feminine National Imaginary in Canadian Visual and Literary Culture

Instead of being kept in leading strings, we are treated as a well nigh grown up daughter, the companion rather than the helpless child of our august mother across the sea. (Bryce 3)

This chapter extends my analysis of a feminine national imaginary into the field of Canadian literary culture. Recognizing with Jody Berland that, "the metaphor of the woman seeking to protect a fertile but vulnerable body from the imperialist ravages of a powerful neighbour has long been a staple of Canadian culture" (Berland 522), I explore the connections between visual and literary versions of Miss Canada. While Miss Canada may be that "fertile but vulnerable body," as Berland suggests, notwithstanding her appearance as such in the reciprocity debate crisis discussed in chapter two, she is not always defending herself against American designs. Rather, she is chiefly engaged in patriotic and pedagogical roles and tasks with a view to schooling national subjects in the performance of national subjectivity. The visual and the literary are complementary modes based on the common figure of female allegory, the mutual use of narrative and the shared practice of pedagogy. Miss Canada, long a feature of political cartoons, illustrations and advertisements, can be found stirring the nation to patriotic fervour in poems, especially those published in *The Week* and *Dominion Illustrated Monthly* and in didactic plays written for school children. The pedagogical feminine, connected to, though not synonymous with, what has been termed the maternal feminine, is also

present in popular novels. Miss Canada is explicitly so named in Mrs. Everard Coates's (Sara Jeannette Duncan's) 1908 novel, *Cousin Cinderella*. My aim is to examine how Miss Canada functions as a national allegory in these literary registers and thereby to identify common features and distinguish exceptional nuances in this broader context of the historical, national imaginary.

Since I have elaborated on allegory and its deployment in Miss Canada cartoons elsewhere in my introduction and in chapters one and two, I will reserve this discussion to individual poems, plays and the novel where female allegory appears. However, it is important to place emphasis here upon how narrative may correspond between visual and literary works. My discussion of melodrama in chapter two has been useful in this regard because this literary narrative mode is operative in many cartoons. But what of those that do not conform to a melodramatic structure? Are there means to think of these cartoons narratively? For, by doing so, the case for reading both visual and literary models is strengthened considerably. Mieke Bal's investigation into narrative in visual works is a productive place to begin. Bal contends that a cause and effect chain of events in a picture accrues as narratological elements which take shape as a "fabula" (144) or story. Where a fabula exists there is narrative, but she adds that the process of "focalization" in this narrative combines with fabula to make "narratological concepts relevant for the analysis of visual narrative without absorbing the image in language" (145). Bal calls this focalization "an interjacent layer, the 'view' of events" wherein the spectator sees a figure, who, in turn, sees another and so on, in a successive chain of seeing so that "every verb of perception (to see) in this report indicates an activity of focalization. Every verb of action indicates an event" (145). The "focalizer is the point from which the elements

are viewed" and "can lie with character (i.e. an element of the fabula) or outside it" (146). Focalization, then, engenders a mediated view of events, much like the function--though not necessarily the identity (163)--of a narrator in a literary text. While this is a useful method for discerning narrative in a Miss Canada cartoon, as I will demonstrate, it ought not to be applied ahistorically or apolitically, in the same way that theories of gendered spectatorship ought not to be devoid of history or politics which inflect a representation.

In order to map out the possibilities for fabula and focalization, the following will address two cartoons by artists in two different publications from 1870 and 1875. The first, entitled "The Situation" (figure #69 unsigned cartoon, *Canadian Illustrated News* 1870), shows the Red River Colony as a lost waif looking for warmth and succour as night closes in. She can choose between "Hotel Canada" and "U.S. Hotel" where Miss Canada and Uncle Sam preside as respective proprietors. Miss Canada's gaze is directed toward the lost girl and her hands are shown in open supplication, a gesture of welcome in the hope that the child will choose her hotel. Although he is open for business, Uncle Sam is absorbed in whittling a stick and so pays scant attention to the Red River child. The child's gaze is focused on Miss Canada, and the direction of the girl's shadow indicates that her choice is made: she will shortly find herself in the care of Miss Canada and her establishment. This chain of events is complemented by the focalization of the cartoon. The girl is centred in the image, with Uncle Sam and Miss Canada framing the sides. The spectator's gaze is trained toward the central figure of the girl, and her gaze causes the spectator to "end" at Miss Canada, reinforcing the "story" of her choice and the historical fact of Manitoba's incipient entry into confederation, despite having been wooed by both countries.

Another example of cartoon narrative which relies on a chain of events and focalization can be found in the J.W. Bengough cartoon entitled "Waiting for the Signal" (figure #70 *Grip* 1875). The figures in this cartoon form a triangle of sorts, with Miss Canada and a clerical advocate for prohibition marking the apex; forming the base corners of the image are a chained dog (in the curious shape of a bottle) labeled "Liquor Traffic" and, to its opposite, Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie joined by another politician, guns raised, the dog in their sights. Bengough, himself a strong supporter of prohibition, and eager to capitalize on a teetotaling Premier to further prohibitionist aims (which, needless to say, had been anathema to Macdonald's government), implies through this fabula that Miss Canada need only drop the handkerchief of "public opinion" and the guns of "prohibition law" would commence firing on the liquor traffic dog. The scene pauses before this anticipated moment, made urgent by the clergyman's hold on Miss Canada's waist and his call to "Drop it Dear, Drop it." Miss Canada stands stiff and tense, her brow furrowed in concern and in expectation of the ensuing volley. Notwithstanding that the conclusion of this chain of events can only occur in the spectator's mind, the focalization makes this course inevitable. Miss Canada is the central figure, drawing the spectator into the story. Her gaze and that of the clergyman are fastened on the politicians, who, in turn, fix upon their target. This dynamic triangulation of seeing in a sense "narrates" the result. What is evident from these two cartoon examples is how images can be narratively rendered through a combination of a fabula or story and focalization. The spectator, like the reader of literary narrative, plays a crucial role in this focalization by engaging with a figure and impelling a chain of seeing,

thereby reinforcing the fabula. Historical, political and contextual cues serve as impetus, occasion and as parameters for what can be seen and told through the image.⁷³

This special consideration given to narrative in images is important because it permits a more fluid analysis and common basis of comparison in readings which oscillate between visual and literary genres. Emphasis on narrative will be particularly useful in my discussion of images relating to plays for schoolchildren and the novel, whereas allegory will be of primary interest in my analysis of poetry. An additional common feature shared by both literary and visual genres is the pedagogical. The term pedagogical is a refined and particular sense of the moral, ideal versions of Miss Canada considered in chapter two. While still operating within an ideological frame, the pedagogical admits an instructive purpose to the imaginary, allegorical female as nation--whether in illustrations or print versions. Both visual and literary examples of Miss Canada are pedagogical in that they construct both a venerable past and a promising future for Canada as a young nation. As a daughter of Empire, Miss Canada evokes her British origins, and as a mother of nation she gestures toward the future which she will symbolically people with Canadian sons. The viewer or reader is exhorted to take stock of this past and future as part of a contemplation of national subjectivity. Since national subjectivity is constructed through myth, allegory, symbol and narrative--it is neither biologically occurring nor bred in the bone--the didactic or pedagogical is a lens through which we may view the construction and dissemination of a national imaginary. Not only does it provide a link between the visual and literary genres, but also it contains the sense of something programmatic, purposeful and not at all arbitrary. Clearly, the building of nation stemmed from a broad base in culture, and, although I do not pretend to trace a

program of collusion and indoctrination, I do contend that the interests of the growing nation are at stake, and therefore the tone and purpose of these images and narratives are frequently pedagogical.

Patriotic poetry was a standard feature in serial publications such as *The Week* (Toronto, 1883-1896), a magazine of literature, politics, letters to the editor, travel, history and reviews largely geared toward an educated, middle-class audience. Contributors were both men and women, though men, given their wider sphere of professional endeavour, made up the greater proportion. Poets ranged from the amateur poetaster to the published writer. Scholars from the 1950s onward have remarked on the importance of the magazine in the literary culture of late-nineteenth-century Canada; one commentator, Alfred G. Bailey, went as far as to state that *The Week* "embodied an impulse reflective of the new nationality" (qtd. in Bentley iv). Based on the amount of space devoted to Canadian literature, the Canadian art and music scene, history, the imperial federation debate and discussions of Canada's role as a dominion and nation, it is evident that the magazine tapped into and saw as its mandate, not only the cultivation of literary taste, but also the urgency for and edification of strong national sentiment. Patriotic poetry was thus a predictable and welcome fit. As Aubrey de Vere fittingly states in a reprinted article in *The Week*,

in this fellowship of Patriotism and Poetry, there is nothing extraordinary. Patriotism, while a moral, is also largely an imaginative passion. If it is to bring forth worthy fruit it must become more than this, wedding itself with reason and walking in the ways of duty; but without imagination a man can hardly take in the idea of country and of nation. (509)

The editors of *The Week* evidently agreed upon the role of the imagination in stirring the patriot's heart to contemplate and to hold dear a concept of nation. The magazine's frequent endorsement of patriotic poems communicates this edifying principle.

All but two of the poems under consideration here--one published in 1885 by the canonical poet Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, and the other published in the *Dominion Illustrated Monthly* in 1892 by J.T. Burgess--are found in *The Week*. Many of these poems address or invoke a female national allegory, understood to be the daughter of Britannia, inheritor of the Empire's greatness and source of pride and strength for her subjects. Also threaded through the poems is Canada's role as mistress or sweetheart of her male subjects who act as her champion and respond to the call to adoration, honour, valour and arms if need be. She is constructed as the land itself, in a metaphor that yokes the vast lands, beauty and spirit of Canada with female allegory. Part of this construction is that inflected by race: whiteness of snow and race ensure her fitness as an allegory of this northern, Canadian nation. Her connection to the land and to history bolsters the quotient of purity that she must contain in order to be the future mother of Canadian sons. There is a sense in these poems that her greatness is imminent, dawning or awakening. She is positioned in peaceful accord with, but righteous supremacy over, the more powerful United States, but she will also soon take her rightful place amongst the nations of the world. Indeed, other nations need only recognize her potential in order for this to occur. While the scope for this allegory is perhaps broader in verse than in visual examples, she is nevertheless the same, familiar Miss Canada.

Harkening back to an esteemed past, in true allegorical form, the verses teem with remembrance of Britain. Canada's historical predecessor is, after all, Britannia, or,

alternatively, "mother England" (Barns 208) who "cradled" Canada within her "Royal mother's arms" (Bayliss 76). Imagery denoting this genealogy takes the form of suckling, as the poet under the name "Canadian" declares: "The sons of freeman, we, we must be free, / Heroic milk is white upon our gums, / Where lion's teeth will grow"

(702). In another reference to suckling, Mathew Ritchey Knight declares,

Strong are the nations which their birth
From that strong mother take;
And we who are to manhood grown
Learned from the milk we drew
To face the shafts of fate alone
And a new path pursue. (103)

When the freemen of Canada come of age, it is wine--formed, naturally, from blood--rather than milk, that fortifies:

English we, and we draw from you all,
Briton and Teuton and Dane and Gaul,
The blood that our fathers blended up
As a priceless wine in a golden cup. (Wetherman 159)

While milk suggests purity of lineage, wine promotes strength and vigour, a necessary ingredient of bravery for Canadian men "so proud to fight and toil that naught of [Canada's] fair soil / To Britain's Crown should ever prove a traitor" (Bell 367).

Reverential terms such as "glorious heritage" (Cornyn 1144), "glorious past" (Tempest 680) and filial loyalty in phrases such as "O loyal child of the mother-throne" (Esperance 503) speak of the honour felt in this lineage. But the birthright is one that Canada, "Bright

jewel in old England's crown" (A.R. 587), and, as yet, "an uncrowned Queen" (Bayliss) is ready to explore on her own as a "nation great and free . . . Next to old England on the sea" (Sladen 740). Her subjects will, inevitably, take on the responsibility of impending nationhood as "successors of [their] mother's right" (Burgess 45). This allegory develops collectively through successive examples: a suckling infant gives way to a young woman with scores of brave champions whose British blood courses through their veins. Frequent use of the words "free," "freedom" and "freemen" suggests that British parliamentary institutions and common law are implicitly invoked as important values.

Not only have we seen the image of Miss Canada as daughter of Empire staged in many cartoons discussed prior to this chapter, notably "Dominion Day: Canada's Debut at the Council of Nations" (figure #1) and "A Pertinent Question" (figure #48), but, also, we have encountered evidence of a masculine ethos compliant with both the male champion characters who people the cartoons and with gendered male spectatorship. This masculine ethos does not preclude women from viewing the cartoons, reading, or, for that matter, writing the patriotic poetry (indeed some poets were women; Agnes Maule Machar, a.k.a. Fidelis, is a case in point). But the invocation to national subjectivity is decidedly male. This may be a necessary arrangement in order for the familial genealogy of nation to advance into the future. For the champions who come to Miss Canada's aid are her beaux as well. Like the courtship narrative cartoons discussed in chapter two, these poems suggest that Canada is an object of desire. A difficult, incestuous model presents itself here, however, since both Canada and the "sons" are Britain's progeny. The slippage between, on the one hand, stalwart brotherly loyalty and affection and, on

the other, an adoration more akin to romantic love is problematic and requires careful analysis.

In order for Canada to maintain her birthright and amplify her greatness, she needs a loyal vanguard, willing to love her and to die for her if necessary. In "A Song of Canada," this directive is clear: "Thy need is men / . . . Men of brain and heart and will" (Canadian). Calls for brave men to assume this role sometimes take the form of an invocation to brotherly or, at least, platonic fealty. In "O Canada, Fair Land," the refrain reads, "O Canada, fair land of our devotion," but the lines "We are brothers, we are one" suggest a willing, collegial force of men "five hundred thousand strong," whose adoration is filial: "thy hardy, stalwart sons" (Bell). An attitude of courtly, romantic love prevails in some poems, however, and this condition meddles with the platonic terms of patriotic devotion. In a poem entitled "Canada," the rhythm and refrain bear the marks of a sea shanty, the speaker akin to a sailor extolling the virtues of his sweetheart in the home port: "Oh! Give me then fair Canada, / Aye, she's the land for me" (Moore 411). In "Our Country," the speaker's imperative is to "Let self be lost in manly love / Of this, our native land" (A.R.). While it is not clear what "manly love" means, it is apparent that the recipient is a female allegorical version of Canada: "Dear Canada! Fair Canada! / To thee our hopes belong / To thee our hearts inviolate, / We pledge with wine and song" (A.R.). If Canada is to be loved on these courtly terms, however, she needs to remain chaste as these lines in Sir Charles G.D Roberts's poem, "An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy," proclaim: "Shall not our love this rough, sweet land make sure / Her bounds preserve inviolate, though we die?" (198). The word "inviolate" suggests a boundary of purity, virginity, a state in which cartoonists have often envisioned Miss Canada.

Indeed, the most thorough contemplation of Canada's beauty, maidenhood and readiness for courtly devotion can be found in Samuel Bayliss's poem "Princess Royal, A Canadian Idyll," where she is "a maiden grown, and wondrous fair":

As bride adorned she stands beyond compare
 A wreath of opalescent maple leaves
 Among her shining hair she deftly weaves,
 Arrayed in royal robes and jewels rare.

Where mate for one with gifts so well endowed?
 Where find a consort who shall share her fame?
 To unborn sons transmit the glorious name
 Of Canada, revered, illustrious, proud!

Behold! Yon high-souled, brave, true-hearted knight,
 Whose pulses beat with passion's ardent fire--
 His country's love his holy, sole desire,
 The Patriot kneels! Her love she yields by right.

Under the mantle of chaste, courtly love beats the heart of fleshly passion, for Canada is set up as "bride" and her "mate" feels "pulses [which] beat with passion's ardent fire." Here biological urgency takes precedence because Canada must "to unborn sons transmit [her] glorious name." That the courtship narrative should end in marital fruition is a familiar trope seen in many cartoons, especially those surrounding the reciprocity crisis of 1911. Just as the political terms of the cartoons place Miss Canada's chastity and

submission to matrimony as the end or prize, so here the stakes are equally high. A heteronormative model makes the future, if not certain, at least imaginable. If we examine seemingly incompatible brotherly, platonic or filial devotion next to romantic, sexual, heteronormative attachment, we find that in terms of allegory, they must, in fact, coexist. Allegory reassembles and pays homage to the past while it contains a "powerful will to survive the future" (Smith 114). The familial blood that runs through the veins of Canada and her champions is their shared British heritage, their link to the past. Marital bonds and hoped-for progeny aim toward a promising future for the nation. As allegorical expressions, the patriotic poems account for a past and anticipate a future. Allegory thus leaves discomfiting notions of Miss Canada's potential for inbreeding unresolved.

Moreover, the patriotic poems take a turn toward the pedagogical based on a moral imperative very similar to the moral exemplarity seen in cartoons. This moral imperative develops through two key tropes: Canada as land and Canada as mother of Canadian sons. When Canada is a metaphor for the land, inevitably whiteness of snow suggests a raced white subject.⁷⁴ Race, in turn, is conceived as the moral fitness and purity necessary to conceive and nurture Canadian sons. Sheer greatness and beauty of the geographic expanse is allegorized in feminine terms and is told in language geared to inspire awe:

When vaunts a land her sunny skies,
 Green fields and waters clear,
 Unfolding beauty's sweet surprise
 Each day throughout the year. . . (Elliott 994)

Canada's body is the land, but this feminine entity is also pictured astride the land, "from sea to sea," as in the following two examples:

From east to west the harvest is her own;
 On either hand the ocean; at her feet
 Her cool lakes sweetest waters throb and beat;
 Like cool, firm pulses of her temperate zone.
 Gracious and just, she calls from sea (McManus 744)

With head uplifted towards the polar star,
 Our country, of the nations latest born,
 Stands with feet buried 'mid the vines and corn,
 One hand outstretched the Atlantic's waves to bar,
 The other, to the setting sun afar (Fidelis 756)

In order for the vast land to be known, mapped, encompassed and governable, it is imagined as a female body, also known, mapped and governable, as long as it is guided by morality. A moral dimension is invoked in the lines, "Loved home of lake and wood, / Of mighty torrents, mountain streams, / Of all things fair and good" (A.R.). The land itself is imbued with moral goodness. Attached to this goodness, however, is a racial qualification. Note the connection made between Canada, snow and race in the poem "Canada" by John Edmund Barns:

Canada! White-browed queen of the north,
 Whose aurora crowneth thy snow-bright hair,
 From the polestar's burning though goest forth,

To the lakes that thy commerce bear.

...

Who are thy children? The careful Scot,

The ready Irish, the Briton strong,

And the French of a France which was and is not,--

All these to thy house belong

Like a damask blade, where the twisted steel

Makes the mottled scimitar tough and true

The blended strains of thy race reveal

A power possessed of few.

The races are "blended" only so far as white ethnicities are mixed; there is no doubt as to white dominance or norms. The nation's racial fitness will be secured under this white female allegory's guidance, for she is "the nation's hope, to bless the coming race" (Bayliss). Whiteness is perceived as raceless, as if race disappears once newcomers grace Canada's shores: "No races fill our Canada / Soon as they touch her shore, / In fealty they cease to be / The slaves they were before" (C. 583). When the question is asked, "[w]hat should thy sons and daughters be?" there is little doubt, given the clear racial and moral lineage, that the answer is "stout-hearted, generous, pure and free" (Esperance). It is up to this female allegory to ensure such progeny; her purity and morality beget the same in her future national subjects.

Correspondence between this raced white female allegory in patriotic poems and that of Miss Canada in the racial boundary cartoons may not be seamless, but it certainly

merits close scrutiny. Like the allegorical woman in the poems, Miss Canada in racial boundary cartoons is the nation's sweetheart or mother. Her race is illuminated against a backdrop of non-white alien "others," reinforcing both her fitness as a national allegory and her moral obligation to maintain Canada's racial purity (figure #3 "L'imperialisme," and figure #4 "L'immigration"). In both the poems and the cartoons, she enacts a biological imperative; her gender and role as sweetheart or mother ensure her compliance with reproduction. In the poems, the hearty, loyal male progeny are either addressed directly or at least referred to, whereas in the cartoons, the male national subject is implied through male-gendered spectatorship and sexual difference. However explicit or implied, the national subject is being constructed and instructed as to his duty. The pedagogical force of cartoons and patriotic poems hinges upon this term, duty, for the subject needs to be schooled in the performance of it. What these connections between the poems and the cartoons illustrate is how national pedagogy is layered over time and navigated across a wide field of cultural expression.

While the national subject is duty bound to defend Canada if necessary, the nation must first take her place among other nations. The poems are concerned with dawning of or awakening to imminent greatness in the international arena. Canada may rely on her moral superiority to assist in this meteoric rise. When considered in this context, Canada suffers momentary diminution from a maiden or mother to a child: "O strong hearts of the North, / Let flame your loyalty forth, / And put the craven and base to an open shame, / Till earth shall know the Child of Nations by her name!" (Roberts). That the child is yet ignorant of her greatness is evident in the lines, "Awake! Thou drowsing child of destiny" (Canadian) and "Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done! / Doubt not,

nor dread the greatness of thy fate" (Roberts). In another verse depicting Canada as a child, poet John Edmund Barns writes, "For thou art the daughter of destiny, / The child of a favouring fate." Presumably, it will not be long before Canada steps onto the international stage a woman, for, soon after calling her a "child of destiny," "Canadian" has a more grown up image in mind:

Awake! The dawn is tripping on the hills,
The day's at hand;
I see a nation, young, mature and free,
Step down the mountainside,
To take her proud place in the fields of time,
And thou art she!

These expressions speak of Canada's place among nations as an inevitable advantage.

Note, also, the role that poets have in the timing of her entry into the world at large:

And poets sing in flowing stanzas sweet
What time she enters on her high emprise--
'Mong federated nations takes her seat
In peaceful bonds, that all the world comprise. (Bayliss)

Finally, while several poems refer to future greatness, the following expresses its inevitability:

Most favoured nation beneath the sun!
Thy tale is but as a tale begun;
Our unborn children shall live to see
The glorious future in store for thee,

For even now, to the vision *dim*

Success and thee are a synonym. (Esperance)

Superlative terms such as "most favoured" and "glorious future" suggest that Canada will enjoy a central and revered place among nations. To do this she must edge her still young and robust neighbour out of the top spot. A superior tone controls the lines, "Columbia growls, / We care not, we, / We are young and strong and free / . . . And big with future greatness" ("Canadian"). On a more conciliatory note, Robert Elliott concedes a limited measure of power to the United States:

Though yon bold nation's proud and great,

Though that is fair and true,

Though both together spite of fate,

May stoutly dare and do,

Still we, surrounding freedom's throne

On craggy mountain set,

May'st say our say and come what may,

'It's Canada, Canada yet.'

These verses allow Columbia her power, but her value pales next to Canada's larger share of "freedom." She is, after all, "The offspring of freedom!" (A.C. 814). A final example points cryptically to Canada/U.S. trade relations: "Though from Columbia's borders hurled, / You'll find fresh ports in all the world, / Where e'er the Good Red flag's unfurled, / Canada! Our Canada!" (Sladen). Despite irksome compromises in trade with the U.S., Canada will find better reception in the wider, global context.

Not surprisingly, the same sentiment regarding Canada's forthcoming greatness may be found in cartoons. According to one cartoon, Columbia endures being overshadowed with good-natured ease. The scene in figure #28, "The New Belle" (1903), a cartoon published by Clifford Sifton's Ministry of the Interior, depicts Miss Canada as "The New Belle" at the ball, surrounded by admiring European dignitaries. Miss Columbia does not begrudge her this favoured position, but rather approves of her victory, saying, "I do admire my fair cousin."

Patriotic poems may not be singular in their intent, but a summative analysis such as this conveys key similarities ranging from the formative roles of history and Empire, to the formidable honours and responsibilities of patriotic subjects, to the confluence of land, race, morality and purity evoked by the female allegorical body and, finally, to the anticipated magnitude of Canada's international status. Like Miss Canada cartoons, patriotic poems represent a body of cultural material ready to frame and stabilize that uneasy edifice of nationhood, while pedagogical inflection transmits a sense of duty, honour and responsibility to national subjects. Popularity and frequency of both cartoons and patriotic poetry in newspaper and magazine media indicate a broadly based desire for an ideal embodied by female national allegory.

Well intentioned cartoonists and poets have, perhaps unwittingly, contributed to the pedagogy of the nation, but Edith Lelean Groves (1870-1931) concentrated this effort in didactic plays, drills and exercises for school children in a series entitled "The All-Canadian Entertainment Series," published by McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart. While production of school materials intended to edify a young citizenry has been, and arguably still is, quite common, this series is interesting for its reliance on familiar allegorical

figures such as Britannia and Miss Canada. These plays, drills and exercises are designed as spectacles to induce patriotic sentiment. Two plays, "Britannia," and "The Wooing of Miss Canada" are, respectively, ritualized enactments of the imperial family (with Britannia in the maternal role) and of Miss Canada's courtship with Jack Canuck. In the exercise, "Canada Our Homeland," Miss Canada is the central figure in a pageant demonstrating Canada's bounty and industry.

In the play "Britannia," the author advises that Britannia be costumed in her classically inspired garb: "White dress, touching the floor, Union Jack draped over left shoulder. She wears a helmet and carries a trident and shield" (3). Here, as in many cartoons, she is reminiscent of Athena ready for battle. The costume is so standardized and recognizable that Groves adds this helpful, parenthetical hint to teachers staging the play: "(Obtain a good picture of Britannia and follow the dress as closely as possible)" (3). The remainder of the characters, all either British colonies, including Miss Canada, or provinces in confederation, are to be dressed according to typical garments the writer deems appropriate for that nationality or region. For instance, Australia dons a "skirt and middie with rough rider hat," Newfoundland a "suit of oilskins" (4), Ceylon and India "red trousers full and baggy, full white waist, yellow scarf tied around the waist" (3). Canada, gowned in white like Britannia, is distinguished by "decorations of maple leaves" (4). The play is an homage to Britannia, who receives from each colony or province a recitation of a poem and a sample offering of her raw materials. Following each display, Britannia is suitably awed and grateful for the parts each colony has played in the Great War, extant at the time of publication (1917). At Canada's turn, she brings "her family" of provinces, each proudly proclaiming her role by cataloguing her

resources and proffering the best amongst these: ores and farm produce from Ontario, pulp, paper, cheese and fruit from Quebec, coal from Alberta, wheat from Saskatchewan and so forth.

Canada's part consumes the better portion of the play since she has so much to offer from so many regions, and Britannia's response to her is fulsome and lengthy in kind. Again, the focus shifts from gratitude for trade products to the role played in the war:

Canada, you have done well, your gifts are rich and choice and Britannia's heart is overflowing with gratitude to all who call themselves Canadians.

'Tis not alone for these material gifts that Britannia thanks you, Canada, but also for the part you have played in upholding the cause of right and justice in keeping the old flag flying. When war broke out, how splendidly did you answer the call of the motherland and with what haste did your stalwart sons rally to the colors. (17)

"Stalwart sons" are reminiscent of those men made ready to defend Canada's honour described in the patriotic poems. Emphasis on Canada's war effort--though admirable, given the many thousands of Canadians who had lost their lives--is also a very particular ideological move, since 1917 was the year of the conscription crisis. Recruitment flagged while the war raged on, but the possibility of conscription was not welcome to many, especially Quebeckers, who increasingly saw their enemy as British imperialists in Ontario. As Berger notes,

... the announcement in the spring of 1917 that only conscription could maintain the Canadian forces at fighting strength seemed a logical

culmination of the whole imperialist campaign. The passage of the Military Service Act, the formation of the Unionist coalition, and the election of 1917 drove a deep wedge between the Canadian peoples and left a legacy of suspicion and bitterness. ("Introduction" viii).

Whether sanitized for troupes of young players, or engaged in ideological damage control, the play "Britannia" fashions a glorified nation and a powerful imperial relationship in ways similar to the cartoons discussed in chapter two: "Evolution" and "Canada's Share in War Victory and Peace." These allegorical characters are sufficiently idealized, and their tasks in the drama suitably venerating to occlude any troubling historical discourse. This ideological function is remarkably like that found in Miss Canada cartoons; both instances signify a cultural hegemony and underscore a deep desire for a unified national sentiment.

While the play "Britannia" markets the Empire and Canada's place within it, other works in the series focus on Canada's independence as a nation, albeit without any arbitrary rupture of these historic ties. The series aims at continuity with regard to Empire and nation. In the exercise, "Canada Our Homeland," a girl version of Miss Canada, dressed in a maple leaf-festooned white dress, takes centre stage and recites the poem "Canada Our Home land," followed by a passage entitled "The Maple Leaf." She remains on the stage while each of ten children presents a letter written upon a maple leaf which together spell "Fair Canada." The emphasis of each recitation corresponding to the letter is on resources, industry and agriculture. A "pretty grouping" (3) tableau finishes the piece. But what remains of the exercise is the sense of Canada as a growing capitalist economy with a strong resource base. This move has a specific pedagogical intent with a

strong ideological foundation. The seeds of Canada's greatness and future prosperity are planted in the young minds, as is a requirement for industrious resource extraction or manufacturing in order to effect such prosperity. The children are the labour and soldiering force upon which the nation's future depends. Miss Canada's role as the central figure in the little drama serves a typical allegorical purpose: as an idealized female embodiment, she represents past and future, while she has little or no relationship to contemporary "real" Canadian women. The emphasis here, like in the patriotic poems, is on beauty and expansiveness; the letters spelling "Fair Canada" and the opening poem recited by Canada attest to this. Words like "fairest," "gorgeous colourings," "beloved land," "vast Dominion" and "dearest land" reinforce not only the feminized beauty and awe-inspiring size of the nation, but also the sentimental investment required of young subjects.

The pedagogy of the nation is perhaps best served by Groves's play, "The Wooing of Miss Canada," where patriotic themes such as respect for British heritage, the feminization of the land, the idealization of the nation, the need for a hearty, protective vanguard, the enviable place of Canada among nations, the modernity and promise of Canadian industry and commerce and the call for racial and ethnic purity all come together. In this play, the courtship narrative, made so familiar in the 1911 reciprocity cartoons, finally reaches its zenith: Miss Canada gets betrothed to her adoring suitor and ready champion, Jack Canuck. By means of pageant, spectacle and melodrama, Canada's ideals of the past and future will be wedded to the hard-working, robust reality of the present. This betrothal begets a familial narrative that, as foreseen in the patriotic poems, will spawn future subjects.

Following a prologue telling a brief history of Canada since confederation and extolling the geographical sweep of the country, the play opens with a meeting of Canada's fairy godmother and assorted fairies gathered from all points of the nation. After having been present to bless the baby Canada in 1867, the fairies are there to preside over and bless her nuptials. They arrive severally, exhausted but thrilled at having expedited their trips with all manner of modern transport: train, automobile, ship and airplane. This moment permits a nod to Canada's modernity and industrial progress. Recovering from their ingenuousness and naiveté at these curious advances, the fairies turn their attention and due concern toward the gift left to Canada by the "bad fairy" way back in 1867: "a love for things not worth while--a love for power, for position, for show" (11). This quality has begun to show itself in the beautiful Miss Canada, especially in her coy treatment of Jack Canuck. He claims she finds him "much too ordinary" in the hope that "a grander suitor will come along" (13). In verse reminiscent of the romantic tone in patriotic poetry the hero laments the state of his feelings:

I know well a maiden fair,
 She is sweet beyond compare,
 And I love her well.
 Yes, with love my heart doth burn,
 Does she love me in return?
 That I cannot tell.

Jack Canuck's suit is expressed in more practical terms in prose when he says that they share the same ideals:

Her development as a nation, her future growth, her progress in the realms of commerce, of education, of literature, art. I am strong, I am vigorous, I would safeguard her interests, I would protect from all who would do her harm, I would keep from her all who were undesirable. (14)

Jack Canuck is the embodiment of the champion, the protector and the masculine strength necessary to complement Miss Canada's beauty and magnificent history. He hopes to be the brawn behind the ideal.

In keeping with the theme of Canada's independence as a nation--especially after she had proven herself so well already in the Great War--her father, John Bull, plays a less important role in the play. He proclaims her virtues: "for she is richly dowered. Beauty and grace and vast possessions in lands and resources has this daughter of mine" (15), but he can do no more than speak to her about her marriage choice. Offers of marriage come from Spain, Japan, France and Italy in the form of missives from prettily arrayed dancing girls promising pomp, grandeur and royalty should Miss Canada care to join her hand with their master's. Miss Canada sends them back stating, "I am beginning to think that there are things in life more important" (25) than the splendour of age-old courts. (Evidently the good fairy's gift of wisdom is bearing up under these temptations.)

With polite insouciance, Miss Canada brushes off Uncle Sam, the penultimate suitor and the only other one besides Jack to wax poetic in his cause:

Now there's a neighbour at your door,
Who offers you his hand,
The U.S.A. and Canada,
Together they would stand. (26)

This scene is characteristic of courtship narratives in cartoons where Uncle Sam argues in favour of combined economic and military strength of their two countries. Miss Canada keeps her rejection friendly so as not to spoil their relationship as "good neighbours" (27). Uncle Sam's presence is nevertheless evidence of a deep and abiding fear of American manifest destiny. The power that lurks to the south is all the more reason for Miss Canada to confound it with her own strength, strength that she will find in the stalwart Jack Canuck.

A melodramatic twist occurs with the entrance of the final suitor; a threat appears in the form of a student from Germany, who has been instructed to take Miss Canada by force if necessary. He proves himself the dastardly enemy as he "seizes Miss Canada by the arm" (29). Jack Canuck "rushes on" the scene to save her, bidding Germany "Begone" (29), but not before commending the "brave and stalwart" men "ready at a moment's notice to don the khaki and march away to defend her shores" (29). Resorting to melodrama is conventional, but it also provides a vehicle for patriotic chauvinism because other characters are rallied in support of Miss Canada. More importantly, melodrama functions to delineate the moral polarization in the play. As is the case with melodramatic cartoons, there is an altogether "good" force set against an altogether "evil" one, reinforcing stabilizing "truths" which alleviate discomfiting fears in the audience. The moment of rescue takes the form of a tableau set piece where exaggerated gestures freeze the moral poles and flaunt the triumph of "good" over "evil." Melodrama also paves the way for the ascent of a hetero-normative ideal found in the union of Miss Canada with Jack Canuck which is accomplished in the final scene.

Finally, the epilogue provides assurances of racial purity that Jack Canuck and Miss Canada's future progeny are sure to uphold. The closing paragraph declares a racist directive:

'The Twentieth Century is Canada's,'⁷⁵ and as loyal Canadians we have faith in the future of our land. We must ever be on the alert to guard well her interests, to watch the immigration and see that undesirables do not enter and to ever remember our watchword, 'Canada for Canadians.' (32)

Fears of moral degeneration brought about by undesirable aliens and mental defectives--by 1917 a familiar chorus in public discourse⁷⁶ as well as political cartoons--betray themselves in these final words. A friend, colleague and biographer of Mrs. Groves, the well-known reformer, Dr. Helen MacMurchy, expressed these fears of racial degeneration in a speech to the Social Service Congress in 1914, saying, "It is well known to every intelligent Canadian . . . that the number of recent immigrants who drift into institutions for the neuropathic, the feeble-minded and the insane is very great" (qtd. in McLaren 46). Motive for the watchword in the play's epilogue fits with what Angus McLaren calls the "ideology of 'Canadianization' or . . . the goal of assimilating newcomers into Anglo-Saxon conformity. English Canadians assumed that white Anglo-Saxons were racially superior and immigrants were welcomed according to the degree to which they approached this ideal" (47). In a similar way to how melodrama, myth and gendered imperatives construct a vision of the nation in racial boundary cartoons discussed in chapter two, these pedagogical plays demarcate the nation's British inheritance and white Anglo-Saxon character, keys to modernity and progress and heteronormative ideal. The courtship and rescue narrative underscores the latter and moves

toward a new allegorical ideal: the addition of Jack Canuck as a "stalwart" champion ensures both the purity of the race and the masculine strength needed to bolster a feminine allegorical image. Apparently, Miss Canada can no longer go it alone.

Sara Jeannette Duncan is known for her interest in the politics of imperial federation, especially in her best-known novel, *The Imperialist* (1904), and for her fondness for Canada, despite having departed for India and England and having married an Englishman, Everard Coates. In her introduction to *Cousin Cinderella* (1908), Misao Dean notes that for the character of Mary Trent, Duncan "drew on the caricature figure of 'Miss Canada' familiar to Canadian readers from *Grip* cartoons and imperialist verse . . . " (xvii). My aim here is to make more of this reading of Mary Trent as Miss Canada in light of the broad cultural sweep accorded this allegory and suggested by this study thus far. As Dean rightly points out, the narrator's wit and irony and her act of "writing of her experience" is a form of "active self-realisation" (xviii), making the novel one of realistic self-discovery in addition to allegory. My approach risks stressing the latter at the expense of the former, but I believe that the roles taken by the characters and the shape and setting of the narrative warrant this emphasis. Moreover, the allegorical framework sets the novel in league with the pedagogical; the performance of national subjectivity here carries an obligatory, educative function.

The allegorical shape of the novel begins with Mary's description of herself as a "natural product" who has been "finish[ed]" (3) where she began. This tongue-in-cheek comment may also be read as a desire for more value-added, manufactured products. Mary's father, a lumber magnate, is a "hewer of wood" whose wealth has derived from the raw material of the forests. That Canada's wealth lay (and to a large degree still lies)

in its raw materials is an inescapable fact, but one that inevitably sets Canada's place on a lower rung of the international trade ladder. Like the trade products Mary's father would export, his offspring are sent to London as "samples" to "show off his country for him" (10). The metaphor of raw material is extended when the father exhorts Mary and Graham to insist to the "curious" that "this continent *grows* something besides Americans" (11 emphasis added). Mary chides her American friend Evelyn for using the terms "Maple princes and princesses," for, in so doing, Evelyn implies that the two are nothing more than "maple syrup," a trade product on the "Colonial market" (180) that, even in 1908, is stereotypically identified as a Canadian export. Maple Syrup, though manufactured, is still so close to its natural state that its simplicity and banality embarrass Mary: "Don't be odious!" (108) she pleads. Mary is "raw material" but she hopes for a more refined status. Duncan balances the ever-present desire for value-added manufacturing with persistent pride in raw exports. This balance is consistent with the tension between Canada's hoped-for nationhood and its cherished, dominion status within Empire.

Duncan pursues other forms of classification as well. Upon meeting Lord Doleford, Mary informs her readers that his "features suggested a race and then a type and then an order" (108). Not only does this description resonate with the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century penchant for classification in science and sociology, it also belies a kinship with Anglo-Saxons, thought to be a racial category in itself. By "type" and "order," Duncan may imply class and historical lineage, aspects of British life with which Mary and Graham are only recently familiar. This habit of race classification underscores the unity between Canadians and their British forebears, even, as Etienne Balibar would

say, "against other possible unities" (49). But it also calls attention to the allegorical form of the text and presence of characters as allegories. Most significant among these is, of course, "Miss Canada"; however, Graham holds his own as "The Maple Prince" (128). This moniker speaks to his being "raw material" like the maple tree for which he is named, but it also places him out of step and out of time: unlike a prime minister, a prince is somewhat ineffectual, regressive and apolitical. Graham's attempts to secure Pavis Court through marriage with Barbara Doleford is valiant but misguided. He will not be the inheritor of fine lineage and all its trappings: this legacy will fall to Miss Canada.

It is the Duchess of Doleford who coins the name "Miss Canada," and she thereafter refers to Mary by this name. Like Miss Canada of cartoons, poetry and plays, Mary represents the allegory of the young nation. She is the country's geographical embodiment, as evinced by the Duchess's observation of Mary: "she seemed literally, as she sat on the sofa and considered me, to come, like the early discoverers, within sight of land" (283). In contemplating "Miss Canada," the Duchess cannot resist the urge to indigenize her, asking Mary "whether [they] had any Indian blood in [their] family" (283). When Mary answers in the negative, the Duchess is unconvinced and presses her further, asking "are you sure?" The Duchess suggests that perhaps the Massachusetts branch of the family brought in the Indian blood, which she concedes "rather a noble strain" (284). As I have shown in chapter two with regard to some cartoons, notably "Farewell" (figure #58) and "A Decided Preference" (figure #57), it is not uncommon to indigenize Miss Canada. It is part of her bid for legitimacy, authenticity and origin.

Having established her allegorical make-up, the novel must ascertain what this will mean for Canada within the Empire. What is she doing there? What are the goals of

this visiting national embodiment? The fact that so much emphasis is placed upon Empire is not surprising given Duncan's interest in Imperial Preference expressed in *The Imperialist*. Rather than sell out to the United States as poor Lorne Murchison decides to do, the allegory here does something quite different. Left to her own devices in London, Mary states obliquely,

... I felt myself realised Realised, not a bit for what I was--that wouldn't, I am afraid, have carried me very far--nor exactly for what I represented, but for something else, for what I might, under favourable circumstances, be made to represent. (126)

We know she is "made to represent" Canada, but, in the setting and references to Empire, we later learn what Canada's place and role will become within that family. The notion of "imperial feeling" is introduced first by Lady Lippington, whose husband later becomes the Governor General of Canada, when she says that "having to drink [port] so constantly of late years when Lord Lippington proposed the Royal toast, I have come almost to like it. The true Imperial feeling will make one like anything, I believe" (111). While this "feeling" is rather vague, it sets the tone of commitment to Empire and prepares a backdrop for the Empire's role later in the novel.

Both Evelyn and Mary recognize that, for Mary and Graham, being held in the good graces of London society is a way of "drawing the ties of Empire closer without tinkering . . . [here Mary finishes Evelyn's sentence] . . . with the tariff. One isn't supposed to mention it, is one, over here? They've got tired of it" (181). The tariff to which they refer is the preferential tariff Canada enacted in 1897 to improve trade between Britain and Canada. Opinion as to its necessity and effectiveness was divided on

both shores. Duncan suggests that this type of social diplomacy will go further to ensure those ties than any contested legislative acts. Support of the Empire in parliament would not hurt either, and since Billy Milliken, who is sweet on Mary, is about to stand for parliament, Mary, relieved, says that the Empire "is safe now" (181).

As fond as she is of the Empire, Miss Canada will not be absorbed into Britain; rather, she will take good, portable things back with her. Comparing her feeling to Graham's, she says,

I was in love with England, too, but not seriously; mine was an attachment
I could take home and talk about. . . . I had distinctly, now that I come to
analyse it, a plundering feeling toward the mother country. (146).

Where Graham wishes to contribute, Mary wants to take away, and this attitude will be especially significant when she secures her most prized plunder: Lord Doleford himself. Mary does not come across as rapacious, but as Miss Canada she keeps her independence closely guarded. While she does not waver in her affection for England and Empire, seen in her dislike of Graham's "objective way of regarding Great Britain" (217), she will not relinquish her distinctly Canadian character.

As Graham and Mary get closer to their inevitable departure back home to Canada, talk of Empire and an imperial setting increases dramatically. In the penultimate chapter, Mary listens as the Duchess discourses upon the "grossly overdone" habit of American marriages to English aristocracy, when she betrays the view that a marriage to a colonial woman would be preferable. The discussion inevitably shifts to imperial preference in trade. The Duchess pulls the trump card, reminding Miss Canada "that the Colonies pay nothing, or almost nothing, for the protection by the British navy" (348).

Mary concedes, but insists that commercial preference amounts to a great deal more than "a row of pins" (348), as the Duchess summarily termed it. The characters always elevate their personal conversations to the political level, not only suggesting Duncan's particular interests but also inviting the reader to make judgments on the broad, allegorical scope of the novel.

Since the final chapter takes place mainly at an Empire tea hosted by the Duchess, the imperial framework and Canada's role within it reach a climactic reckoning. Significantly, Miss Canada cannot, at first, "imagine why [she] was at the party," except to bungle through telling people about Newfoundland, about which she knows next to nothing. We are to imagine this "lavish" event as a venue for all manner of parties interested in the Empire, but Mary's discomfiture in this setting is plain until Lord Doleford enters. The exchange between them--a nearly imperceptible version of a marriage proposal--reframes the role of Canada and her future within Empire for good. Wishing to differentiate Mary from Americans, Doleford explains her status thus: "But you--you belong to us You are our own people. We can't marry you on that principle" (361). The statement may be read in two ways: either, 'we can't marry *because of that principle*' (of close, familial ties), or, 'we can't marry you *based on that principle*' (but can on other principles). Duncan's prose is typical for cryptic moments such as these. Nevertheless, Mary is "confident" and clear on her point that Doleford will "see [his] way to tariff reform" (361-62). Continuing in this vein of political allegory, Doleford proposes by saying "in our dealings with the colonies the heart is supposed to have more of a chance" (362). The "ties of sentiment" outweigh equivocation on tariff or any other point, and this is the mood with which Mary leaves this important moment. As

patriotic poems and didactic plays have made clear, the ties of sentiment are crucial for both a relationship with Empire and a place in the world's future.

As if on cue in response to the saying the "sun never sets on the British Empire," immediately following the proposal Mary observes portentously, "And then the sun rose" (362). The sun rises on this union of Miss Canada and a particular version of Britain: aristocratic lineage combined with brave and sporting character (Doleford was recently returned from India and is very fond of horses). Duncan provides plenty of evidence to suggest that Mary will not simply be subsumed in Britain as an "English wife," but instead will bring her Britain home to Canada. First, Doleford's habits and character make him a suitable candidate for emigration: he was open to the idea of a colonial post with "the Foreign Office" (141) soon after his return from India. Secondly, he envies the possibilities presented by a country like Canada when he says to Mary,

I call it great luck to belong to a place like Canada. . . . no bother seeing your way out there. No impedimenta. . . . Look at your brother. There's a fellow to be envied. See what he can do, and help to bring about, in a country like that. (142).

Thirdly, he is not able to reside at Pavis Court, the family's ancestral home, while it belongs to Graham, nor, for that matter, did he choose to when it was in the family's name, preferring to leave his mother and sister as mistresses there. He is, as the Duchess reminds Mary "without a home to go to" (344), and so in that sense is free to do as he pleases. When the property is finally secured due to Mary's betrothal to Peter, "so that it should not suffer even temporary capitulation" (362), it is understood that the prior arrangement with Barbara and Lady Doleford holds. Finally, despite the engagement,

there is no question about Mary and Graham returning home to Canada: "Next day saw us embarked, nevertheless" (362). Presumably, Peter Doleford will follow, for "he traveled to Liverpool with [them]. He would thus, the Duchess told him, learn the proper Imperial route across the ocean" (363). This last statement is the most telling evidence of Peter Doleford's future, that of the Empire and of Canada's place within it. Doleford will take that trip, more or less permanently, and, significantly, it is the "proper Imperial route" whose destination is Canada. Canada ends first in Empire, though that result was unclear when Mary first attended the Empire tea where it seemed to her that there were "so many" people "with whom the Empire was first" (350). The imminent nuptials of Britain with Canada have secured this status.

With this impending matrimony in view, and following upon other versions of hetero-normative coupling between Miss Canada and various brave suitors, it is propitious to read this as part of a common allegorical pattern. Mary is not the same "empty" allegory as some--her wit and irony save her from such a straightforward interpretation. However, the success of her engagement and the terms with which Empire is boldly applied to the novel demand an accounting. Because of her impending marital status, this Miss Canada, unlike some cartoon versions, which, by 1908, have experimented with New Woman models, is much more the traditional, maternal feminine ideal. Matrimony, especially with an Anglo-Saxon "race, type and order," will guarantee future subjects in kind. And, while the value placed on Empire is high, it is not exalted at the expense of the nation within it. Mary is "finished" at home and returns there with the steady and sound bulwark of Empire behind her, following her into the future.

The shape and progress of the allegory in *Cousin Cinderella* suggests a pedagogy of the nation. While neither strictly didactic in tone, like the Edith Lelean Grove plays, nor overly sentimental like the patriotic poems, the novel nevertheless offers up an allegory of the nation within Empire that cannot resist the familiar template. Because it queries a somewhat naïve view of "the colonies" and ultimately provides a model which may more suitably be called a nation within Empire, Canadian readers of the period are invited to contemplate their subjectivity within this framework. Miss Canada emerges out of a past--indeed, Mrs. Jerome Jarvis insists that she and Graham can do much to "drag Canada out of history and geography" (129)--and sails confidently toward a future. This allegorical trait is reason alone for the novel's pedagogical function, for a past must be constructed and a future imagined in order for national subjectivity to flourish.

These literary examples, though considerably varied in genre, convey representations of Miss Canada that are remarkably similar to her counterpart in illustrated versions. A broadened cultural hermeneutics such as this serves a critique of the ideology of nation well because it permits investigation beyond the idiosyncratic and into the sustained cultural relevance of Miss Canada. Where the previous chapter examined the political and historical resonance of Miss Canada *in situ*, this chapter sharpens the view of what constitutes this female allegorical ideal. The moral register, British ancestry and consequent racial purity, embodiment of geographic space, keys to modernity and maternal, biological destiny are all, in varying degrees, operative in these narratives as in the cartoons. They are pedagogical in that they instruct the national subject in these idealistic terms. Perhaps because cartoons and illustrations address a single political or social event and construct a narrative around it, we rarely see the story

or "fabula" concluded within the frame itself; rather we are impelled by it and by focalization to complete the narrative in our "mind's eye." The narrative push of patriotic poems, plays and the novel, *Cousin Cinderella*, leaves less to chance and imagination. When considered as a body of representations, more often they lead the reader to a kind of allegorical fruition. While it is understood that Miss Canada of cartoons is the nation's sweetheart, daughter of Britannia and mother of Canadian sons, in these narratives a marital and maternal end is assured. Granted, the marriage of Miss Canada to a stalwart champion, to Jack Canuck or even to a British aristocrat may have more to do with the historical moment than with generic differences, but both are worthy of consideration. The impulse for Canada's modernity in light of increased American political and economic power (threats of manifest destiny aside), international conflict, trade interests and immigration fears may require invigoration of the allegorical female image by a masculine counterpart. Destiny can only be conceived in these hetero-normative terms, after all. What remains to be explored is how an increasingly literal embodiment of Miss Canada in government newsreels and in the national beauty pageant picks up where these cultural representations leave off. Miss Canada of political cartoons does not disappear altogether after 1920, but her infrequent appearance suggests that representation of national ideologies adjusts with the demands of culture over time.

Chapter 4

Embodied Miss Canada:

The Shift to Photographic and Live-Action Images of National Allegory

The stereotype is part of this 'system of subjection': its function is to reproduce ideological subjects that can be smoothly inserted into existing institutions of government, economy, and perhaps most crucially, sexual identity The stereotype inscribes the body into the register of discourse; in it, the body is apprehended by language, taken into custody by politics and ideology. (Owens, "Medusa" 194)

Images help constitute the ideologies that determine our own subjectivity; images make incarnate those alternative subjectivities and patterns of social relation that provide our cultural ideals or utopian visions. (Nichols 9-10)

This chapter recognizes the different ways that Miss Canada is represented visually when she begins to appear in photography and film. Increasing proliferation of photographic and film media accounts in large measure for her near disappearance in illustration and cartoon, but this transformation also allows for greater complexity in the image and in its critical potential. As I will point out, the cartoon version does not disappear altogether, but it is useful to remember that, on a few occasions, Miss Canada has been tempered and refashioned by masculine interventions. In the patriotic poems, didactic plays and novel discussed in chapter three, she has been affianced to a bold young champion, to Jack Canuck and to her British roots, respectively. After Canada's support of Britain in the

Boer War of 1899 to 1900, and following WWI when Canada had distinguished itself on the battlefields of Europe, this new inflection and injection of (soldiering) masculinity produced a more fitting representation of a nation that had come of age. An audience familiar with any of these matrimonial narratives would necessarily expect the inevitable reproductive issue of such unions: healthy, happy children to people the nation. Yet when it comes to the technologically driven transfer of the two-dimensional illustration to the celluloid embodiment in film or in the beauty pageant, Miss Canada is feminized, and single, once again. The matrimonial motif is not the fruitful contrivance it may appear to be in the literary examples. Embodied Miss Canada, endlessly reproduced in photographic and, especially, film versions, must always be poised to reproduce the nation. Part of her allure is her availability: her endless, if elusive, promise for the future, a promise that married status forecloses. The domestic narrative, then, while still an important part of the image of Miss Canada, remains an imagined, propitious state, rather than a foregone conclusion. The temporal emphasis is thus shifted toward the future of the nation, as it was in cartoons depicting a young sweetheart as Miss Canada. As the live-action Miss Canada begins to supersede the illustration, we see how her signification evolves in response to modernity. Her image is coded with both more and less of that which is encoded in her illustrated forebear. This chapter explores the constituents of this encoding and determines how embodied Miss Canada is an index of nationalism and nation.

In the interests of examining these shifts in the time, space and substance of Miss Canada as an allegorical representation, I have chosen to address a recent editorial cartoon by artist "Cam" from *The National Post* (2003)⁷⁷ in which is revealed Jean

Chrétien's paltry "legacy" offered to Miss Canada (figure #71). What I hope to gain from this reading is a measure of the proximity between a present-day Miss Canada and her former print media versions which have been the foregoing subject of this thesis. The scene, showing a caricature of Jean Chrétien on bended knee in an attitude of romantic petition to Miss Canada, is a courtship narrative at once spoofing the popular reality T.V. series "Joe Millionaire" and recalling a host of former examples of courtship narratives from the earliest days of political cartooning. The viewer heeds the incongruity of Chrétien's romantic flourish with his scant offering. Miss Canada, bland, wraith-like and indistinct, is turned away from the spectator, but is nevertheless recognizably labeled as Canada. The cartoon seems nostalgic for the fullness of this female allegorical image, but can only offer a pale copy. The Chrétien courtship scene evokes history by taking the form of a metanarrative⁷⁸: it is an intertextual and transhistorical move by the artist, emphasizing the fullness of Canada's history in the insubstantial present. An historical resonance provides the deep contrast and hence the sharp satire. Since Chrétien offers her "no legacy" in his marriage proposal, the viewer fears for Canada's future. In this way, the cartoon uses the past to cast a shadow on the future. Miss Canada's slouching body, drab hair style, lack of facial features and unimpressive garments point to the tenuous value of this female allegory; she is neither the dutiful daughter, the saucy nubile girl, nor the nurturing mother of the past.

This cartoon and its predecessors are nevertheless connected through this female allegory of the nation; the present-day version would be unrecognizable without a cultural memory of earlier cartoons and illustrations. As I have argued throughout this dissertation, allegory is an empty chamber, filled with meaning as necessary on the

occasion of its use. The allegory here is emptied of, but nevertheless haunted by, its earlier signification. In order for this contemporary Miss Canada to be recognizable, earlier cartoon versions of her must exist spectrally in the viewer's memory. Closer to Walter Benjamin's account of allegory as ruin, this Miss Canada embodies ruination but contains the memory of history through multiple associations with her former incarnations. According to Benjamin, in the "guise" of ruin, "history does not assume the form of the process of an eternal life so much as that of irresistible decay. Allegories are, in the realm of thoughts, what ruins are in the realm of things" (*Origin* 178). Not only are we to imagine this body as nearly non-corporeal, drab and curiously unadorned, but also we are invited to see both Canada as symbolically bereft and insignificant and female allegory itself as having devolved into near oblivion. The strength of the satire lies in the weakness of the image, to be sure, but ultimately we are left with reduced power in the use and force of female allegory and the knowledge that history is not a march of progress but rather a reminder of loss and crisis.

A constant barrage of images of women in the media and decades of feminist critique have ensured a healthy cynicism for the woman as nation image, especially for the over-hyped televised beauty pageants of today. Nevertheless, this contemporary cartoon triggers questions about substantive changes between cartoon varieties of Miss Canada and what I will call her embodied versions. The cartoon successfully navigates a political issue but leaves little for the national subject to contemplate or to associate with the nation *per se*. The questions which arise from this reading and drive this chapter concern that temporal and qualitative gap between the earlier cartoon illustrations and this current one. That space is largely occupied by a live, embodied version of Miss

Canada. What precisely are the codes of nation encrypted in the body of Miss Canada that both signal and supplant the cartoon illustration? How do we understand this corporeal embodiment as an inherently national signification?

While the Chrétien cartoon signals a moment of dearth and diminution in the image of Miss Canada, one of the first photographic examples of a Miss Canada figure registers the opposite: capaciousness and excess. The photograph, entitled "A Girl from Canada" (T.A. Chandler 1907; figure #72) is remarkable for the confluence of representational styles and trappings and for the questions it raises about female national allegorical embodiment. While photography is not unmediated, this image is an early example of a literal, material woman styled to represent Canada. Thus she figures as a transition from two-dimensional illustration to live-action film versions of Miss Canada. This unnamed woman, costumed by Canadian government agent H.M. Murray, is accoutred in a voluminous flag which obscures her shape and dress underneath. The flag (not the Union Jack, but a form of stylized emblem) boldly displays the word "Canada" along the bottom. The folds give a full, apron-like appearance to her garments. She sports a version of the Mountie hat, upturned jauntily on one side. The bicycle she holds onto (presumably her "float" for the parade) is so laden that it is rendered impossible to ride. Decorated with sheaves of wheat, ribbons, flags, signs, fabric and lanterns, the bicycle (and the woman) are set to advertise "Canadian Prosperity" in a parade in Exeter, England. It is not clear whether the bicycle accompanies the woman or vice versa. The label on top of the vehicle reads "Canada," but she is similarly labeled and the sign under the handlebars reads "A Girl from Canada," shifting the viewer's gaze back to her. The

viewer is invited to ask, "wherein lies the prosperity?" Is it contained in the girl or the wheat-and-raiment clad bicycle?

The choice of a bicycle as a means of transporting this message of prosperity is an interesting one. By 1907, the date of the photograph, the bicycle had been associated with women and freedom from dress restraints, its rider the lively, active, independent "New Woman." The bicycle here could conjure none of these associations because of its top-heavy abundance. The woman on a bicycle motif is cancelled out by this curious superfluity. So the image takes from popular lore and familiar iconography and styles these to a particular purpose. Examples of Miss Canada as an emblem of prosperity are plentiful, as the poems, plays and novel discussed in chapter three have demonstrated. While this photograph is no exception in terms of its advancement of material prosperity, its disjunction between, on the one hand, the over-dressed woman with her ineffectual but excessively adorned bicycle, and on the other hand, the documentary "reality" of an actual historical woman parading with a bicycle denoting freedom and modernity prompts some obvious feminist and ideological readings. It is as if the image cannot contain everything at once. If the intent is to demonstrate material prosperity of the nation, then it will be at the expense (or parody) of the "modern," independent, New Woman. This use of the comparatively "real" body of the woman as an allegory of nation is the central problem of this chapter. Further corporealized by the "documentary real," that is, a real historical body whose representation is mediated by photography or film, and further commodified by her increasing connection to trade interests, capital and state sponsorship and, in the case of the national beauty contest, by the emphasis on competition, a hallmark of the capitalist modern state, these versions of Miss Canada

require special scrutiny. Miss Canada has come a long way from the demure, self-effacing daughter of Empire. The shift in image to a more literally embodied figure traces the material progress of the nation while it captures a new set of problems and concerns for reading a representation of the nation in the public, cultural imagination.

The archival footage and photographs of Miss Canada under study here are examples of Miss Canada vivified--sometimes, quite literally, "in the flesh." As such, she is structured as the fetishized commodity form, as the literal body of the nation for celebration and sale. In order to properly assess these versions it will be necessary to revisit Marxist and Freudian notions of commodity and fetish, to query the role of spectatorship in the construction of the body on screen and in the reflection of national subjectivity found there and to study special conditions of the "documentary real." I argue in chapter one that both Marxist and Freudian definitions of the fetish complement a reading of Miss Canada for the ways that they both hinge on a disavowal.⁷⁹ As a commodity-on-display, Miss Canada denies the social relations of production while she signifies an excess of inscription on her body. In the first instance, following Marx and inflected by Walter Benjamin's notion of the commodity having only representational value, Miss Canada accompanies consumer goods and trade products while she imbricates the domestic with the national. Yet her connection to these things is ephemeral and mysterious, thereby insisting on a disavowal of the relations of production. As Sut Jhally argues on this point,

it is quite clear that, for Marx, commodity fetishism and the mystery of the commodity concerns the *false* appearance of the commodity as possessing

value in itself rather than as a result of labour. The theory of fetishism is indeed a theory of *mystification*. (39)

In the Freudian sense, the libidinal excess signified by her "to-be-looked-at-ness" (Mulvey, "Visual" 27) merely conceals lack (of the phallus). In this reading of the fetish, disavowal takes the form of a misreading of signs that deny symbolic lack, or as Mulvey reasons, "disavowing the traumatic sight of nothing and thus constructing phantasmatic space" ("Some Thoughts" 11). In either the Marxist or Freudian case, this over-invested body is shrouded in mystification. Miss Canada's relation to commodity fetish is especially apparent in the photographic and filmic versions for two reasons: first, voyeurism and scopophilia are emphasized by the presence of a "real" body and by the structuring gaze of the camera apparatus. Secondly, the images are sexually and erotically charged, and therefore designed for pleasurable looking. Over-investment in consumption through viewing ensures a more profound sense of fetishized commodity-on-display.

While I argued previously that narrative movement, the framing of the cartoon or illustration and, in many cases, the melodramatic mode, structure the viewer's gaze in such a way that Miss Canada is an object more than an agent of action, the structuring of the gaze requires special attention in photographic and film versions. The camera may only be the material, technological "way of seeing," to use John Berger's term, but it is nevertheless an "anthropomorphic extension of the human sensorium" (Nichols 79), making vision possible. Leaving aside, briefly, the social and historical conditions and meanings of viewing, I will attend to characteristics of the gaze as they relate to the representation of the body. In a hetero-normative world view (of which Miss Canada is undoubtedly a part), the camera structures the female form, either whole or in part, along

the lines of sexual difference. Identification follows the pattern of male consumption of object-on-display or female identification *as* object-on-display. While oversimplified and ahistorical, as I pointed out in my introduction, this model of the gaze is a place to begin. The camera holds our vision in thrall, dictating the angle, shape and duration of the visible. Exhibitionism in these films takes its cue from what Tom Gunning calls the "cinema of attractions," a form of cinema predating narrative film and ending in 1906. The films I address, while produced much later (1929-32; 1947 and 1949) than Gunning's definition permits, retain vestiges of this singular form. More precisely, exhibitionism and engagement of the social actors with the camera prompt my comparison. As Gunning notes, "this is a cinema that displays its visibility, willing to rupture a self-enclosed fictional world for a chance to solicit the attention of the spectator" (64). The roots of "cinema of attraction" stem from vaudeville, spectacular stage melodramas, fairgrounds, amusement parks and exhibitions (Gunning 65) made popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Gunning's work proves useful in explaining moments in these films when social actors flaunt their sexuality and/or dissolve the boundary between themselves and the spectator by looking into the camera. Although more subtle distinctions relating to the construction of the gaze, agency, ethics and so on, will be discussed in terms of documentary footage, at its most fundamental level, the camera constructs a vision of the female body for viewing consumption. Particulars of historical index, ethics and politics of documentary footage will contextualize and build on the strict specular binary I have laid out here.

The film footage I examine may be considered documentary in a limited and special sense. Both the 1929-1932 Imperial Fruit Show and the 1949 Miss Canada

pageant are "raw footage," similar to newsreel footage featuring neither sound nor narrative commentary. Despite the lack of structure, composition and obvious style, they approximate documentary for their relationship to an actual event as historical referent. Therefore, documentary theory, cogently described by Bill Nichols, informs this reading and provides a necessary critical apparatus with which to view the footage. What follows, then, are key features of this critical framework which I consider useful interventions into my reading of the film footage and, to a lesser degree, photographs. The viewer may still respond to these films as representations because of their shots, type of gaze, structuring of the body on film and the ethics, politics and ideology read through these. Certain "assumptions of literalness" indicating "the denotative authenticity of an indexical bond" (Nichols 28) form a baseline with which to distinguish documentary from fictional film, but a host of other considerations quickly dispel the notion that documentary is an unadulterated record of history. Nichols refines the term documentary by calling it "observational cinema" which "conveys the sense of unmediated access to the world" because the filmmaker "will not draw the attention of the social actors or engage with them in any direct or extended fashion" (43). In spite of the fact that direct access to historical reality is neither possible, nor necessarily desired, through a film text, the "expectation of transparent access remains" (43; emphasis added); thus a critical apparatus is essential in order to address documentary as cinema. Further, that "indexical bond" between the documentary subject and an historical event is one that Nichols more properly defines as existing between the "image and the ethics that produced it" (77). Ethics, then, is the social, political and ideological remove that requires unpacking and rigorous analysis. Style, according to Nichols, refers not only to a "vision or to a

perspective on the world but also to the ethical quality of that perspective and the argument behind it" (80). Axiographics is the term used to seek the "implantation of values in the configuration of space, in the constitution of a gaze, and in the relation of observer to observed" (78). Because of the fleeting, reportorial quality of the film footage under study, it is useful to consider these theoretical terms; otherwise, the viewer is tempted to dismiss such footage as bereft of style and charged with mere historical "reality."

Nichols identifies many different types of gaze in documentary, such as the "accidental gaze," the "helpless gaze," the "endangered gaze," the "interventional gaze," the "humane gaze" and the "clinical or professional gaze" (84-88). However, none is entirely applicable to my purposes because each assumes greater affinity between the observer and the observed. I would rather term the gaze in question a meeting of the accidental and clinical. While not quite clinical in objectivity, the camera serves a "right to know" (Nichols 87), yet it is not altogether haphazard (accidental) as it tracks events. The hybridity of this gaze is, in fact, one of the most interesting aspects of reading the footage because one can ask: why is it important to have *this* record of the event, and how does the camera negotiate prurient interest and a display of health for the nation? Who or what is responsible for the representation? Like all documentary, these film clips witness social actors, rather than fictional ones; unlike most documentary, however, the archival footage lacks a directorial vision. The camera work and reconstruction of events are nonetheless revealing of a particular construction of Miss Canada as national allegory.

The relationship of documentary film to history and the reconstruction of the body on film are also important considerations, helping to shape a reading of ethics, values and

gaze in this critical framework. Nichols subscribes to Fredric Jameson's post-Althusserian interpretation of history, as I have done in chapter two. Nichols reiterates the case that we can only understand or know history in textual form because of its place as "absent cause." This approach is similar to Hayden White's argument that "historical work" is "a model, or an icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of *explaining what they were by representing them*" (qtd. in Nichols 143). Put another way, representation copes with that "impasse between discourse and referent, between signification of things and things signified" (Nichols 143). As raw footage, the texts I will address leave out as much as they include and thus trigger a reminder of Stuart Hall's notion that absence is equally as telling as presence. With documentary, the viewer is more closely connected to history--Nichols calls this the "indexical bond" (149)--but must not be soothed into a desire for absolutes and authenticity. Raw footage texts are empirical in that they track an event, but we may still posit deliberations, strategies, choices, gaps and chronologies in their construction.

Filmmaking, Nichols would argue, necessitates certain responsibilities, particularly toward the body on film. If the space of the observed is occupied by bodies, how must we read them and what clues do they provide as to the ethics and politics of the overall film project? To this end, Nichols assigns three axes to determine meaning in bodily representation. These are the following:

- (1) a narrative domain of motivated time and the body as causal agent, or character, (2) an indexical domain of historical time and the body as social actor, or person, and (3) a mythical domain of ahistorical timelessness and the body as cultural exemplar, icon, fetish, or type. (243)

The problem with film records of Miss Canada is precisely a crossing of domains two and three: is she an historical index and social actor or an ahistorical, cultural exemplar, icon, fetish or type? Since a photographic or filmic display categorizes her as both, the realms of the historic and the mythic are conflated. She is an historically located, social actor in a mythic, performative space. And, she is mere ephemera without her body; her bodily presence and her mythic essence are mutually dependent, but, at the same time, I would argue, incompatible. This incompatibility arises from the notion that actual bodies exist in a temporal realm and are subject to the rigours of time, aging and death. Conversely, mythic bodies transcend time and are eternally whole (Nichols 255). This disjunction affects the viewer's investment in the image of the nation since he or she must always forget the historical contingency of the real in order to absorb and take pleasure from the iconic, mythic, allegorical body. Yet, as I shall demonstrate, peculiarities of the gaze, the play of historical actors in the scene and elementary camera and filmmaking techniques constantly encroach upon and interrupt that space. Once the viewer has, however precariously, negotiated this dual observational problematic, how is it possible to imagine the woman-as-nation in culture? Furthermore, when the film panders to exhibitionism, must the viewer read this from the perspective of mythic, iconic stasis or historical movement?

An expression of nation within Empire, the "Imperial Fruit Show" film documents Canada's presence at a fruit exhibition in Birmingham, England. The date, given as 1929-1932, indicates either an indeterminate origin or a series of clips taken over a three-year period. Since the same woman styled as Miss Canada appears throughout the film, I suggest that the former explanation is more plausible.⁸⁰ As the film

opens the viewer is met with an inter-title which reads, "Prince George at the Imperial Fruit Show." The camera follows him and an entourage of dignitaries as they inspect the apple barrels. The presence of the Prince at the outset lends both historical indexicality and imperial legitimacy to the film. Like all imperial exhibit events, this one has been sanctioned by the crown, which imparts pomp and authority to the show and imperial approval to Canada's export product on display. The camera soon locates a sign presiding over the exhibit: "Empire Fruit for Health and Beauty." The terms health and beauty are powerful signifiers appearing in various ways throughout the film. Promotion of the nation's health is a regulatory and pedagogical function very common during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in many states, including Britain and Canada. Physical and social hygiene movements, the gradual adoption of health care as public, state-run institutions⁸¹ and the education of youth in schools in matters of hygiene and sexuality are all part of this imperative. The social control suggested by this directive, and its affiliated efforts in the realm of social reform, are part of a broader developmental project of birthing, raising and enhancing good citizenry. Needless to say, "health" and "beauty" are implicated in the figure of Miss Canada, in both her roles as an ambassador in this Imperial Fruit Show and in the national beauty pageant. I will return to this important pairing of "health" and "beauty" in the ensuing discussion of Miss Canada on film.

Following the formal induction into the Fruit Show signaled by Prince George and his entourage, the camera cuts to Miss Canada, standing in formal attire, laughing and kibitzing with others who are unseen by the camera (figure #73). Evidently, Miss Canada has inherited the nation as she has inherited the film from the imperial moment

with Prince George, for, once the camera finds her, the action is almost exclusively focalized on her or on lesser female allegories representing corporate or provincial interests. The woman dressed as Miss Canada appears uncomfortable under the camera's protracted gaze; she laughs and smiles excessively throughout the film. Her discomfort tightens the indexical bond between a cinematic display and a live historical referent, but, at the same time, it shakes the audience's preconception of who and what Miss Canada is and has been. Cultural memory serves up a more distant, idealized allegory, a fictional figure from countless political cartoons and illustrations. A live woman version contains these codes, yet she also defies them with her actual, flesh and blood presence.

Next, the camera cuts to a still image of Miss Canada in an orchard landscape (figure #74), a move which suggests that she presides over, decorates or is in some way responsible for, the profuse, quality apple product she accompanies at the exhibit: The connection between "health" and "beauty" is developed further as she is often seen eating apples, gesturing at apples and, especially telling, proffering apples to sick and injured children in what one presumes to be a Birmingham hospital. In one scene, dressed in familiar classical regalia typical of allegorical females, she offers an apple to a small and thoroughly bandaged baby (possibly a burn victim) who clearly cannot eat it and is more interested in playing with the fruit (figure #75). In another scene, school children are grouped in the fresh air, while Miss Canada, a younger girl I take to be Miss Okanagan Packers and a female envoy in Native dress move amongst them (figure #76). The inclusion of a white woman in native drag follows an age-old bid for authenticity and origin typical in settler-subject images and narratives. It signifies what Alan Lawson calls that double bind of the settler subject, both authorizing over the Indigene and reflecting

back to the Imperium. Unlike images of Miss Canada in native dress discussed in chapter two, however, this one appears as a supplement to Miss Canada. A nation in her own right, Miss Canada no longer requires direct identification with indigeneity. For this reason, the pretend Indian need only be a supplement, a reminder of the claim that has been staked over indigenous space. The three complete a trio of idealized but (strangely) embodied nation, corporate, state-sponsored trade interests (Miss Okanagan Packers) and authorization over indigenous space. The camera is positioned in medium close up for an extended period as all three females gesture and wave self-consciously for the camera. Their playful interaction links them while at the same time denigrates the mythic scope of their roles.

There is a sense from the emphasis on health and beauty that the abundant dominion brings health back to the Imperium in order to regenerate it for the future. In the final scene, the sick and injured children are filmed outdoors, some still in their hospital beds, while Miss Canada, Miss Okanagan Packers and the Fruit Fairy, Miss United Fruit Company (Nova Scotia), all munch vigorously and ceremoniously on apples as if instructing the children how to do so (figure #77). The women are shown each seated on the edge of a hospital bed containing a bewildered child clutching an apple in his or her hand. The hospital scenes conjure the image of a diseased wasteland of post-war, depression-besieged Europe, and therefore British children are portrayed here as especially needful of rejuvenation. Miss Canada occupies the role of a fresh, healthful envoy who will deliver health and beauty along with her apples. The trope of vast, agricultural stores and of abundant nature harnessed as resources to provide for the imperial family is one that trade policy and images of trade return to again and again.

This film is predicated on such a narrative. Health is also tinged with moral purity, however. As I argue in chapter one, beauty and health are the fitting exterior to a sound moral character: there are seen as mutually sustaining. Although it is impossible to tell colour in a black and white film, it is significant that Miss Canada is pictured in youthful, light-coloured clothing: either fashionable garments, classically inspired dress reminiscent of her allegorical lineage as daughter of Britannia, or, in one scene, a tennis outfit, complete with racket, again emphasizing her (and, by extension, Canada's) health and fitness. This health/fitness/beauty/morality dynamic is a familiar one to audiences of cartoons, illustrations and advertising depicting images of women in general and images of Miss Canada in particular. In these live-action scenes taken at the Fruit Show, there is that added boon of *readiness*: Miss Canada is a live, energetic paragon of the healthy nation. That she exports this commodity back to Britain is indicative of her readiness to assume the status of a self-sufficient and magnanimous nation space. While cartoon Miss Canada performed as a moral exemplar in a homogeneous, middle-class milieu, this live-action Miss Canada is encoded with additional directives to superintend the health and fitness of the Empire and the nation back home.

In keeping with my earlier claim that embodied Miss Canada is encoded with both less and more than her cartoon counterpart, I draw attention to three scenes where her wholesomeness is compromised. The scenes depict an excess of inscription on the body and thereby force a reading of documentary effects. The camera cuts to Miss Canada seated in a diorama amid baskets of apples (figure #78). She engages with a male passer-by, and, rather suggestively, exchanges a bite of her apple for his. The next passing male spectator is permitted a peak at her gams as she lifts her skirt for him and

for the camera. Her actions appear spontaneous and they draw attention to her as a social actor in an historical moment, rather than a mythic performer in a transcendent time and space. The scene alerts the viewer to Miss Canada's libidinal excess, her "to-be-looked-at-ness" and to her role as commodity-on-display. She becomes the product instead of representing it. In a similar way, the camera fastens on a scene where Miss Okanagan Packers sits on a garlanded swing in a picturesque diorama showing the orchards behind her (figure #79). Her skirt is short and legs are exposed: in terms of the subject matter and her position within the frame, she resembles the girl in Fragonard's Rococo painting, *The Swing* (1766). The spectator of this earlier canvas is induced to look under the skirt of the seated girl. Such titillation was common to Rococo paintings and this scene is reminiscent of that tendency. With each swing, the camera focuses on her bare legs. The viewer, following the dictates of the camera's gaze, is constructed as a voyeur in a scopophilic moment, unmediated by narrative voice-over, dialogue or other mitigating effects. Finally, in the clip of the outdoor hospital scene featuring Miss Canada, Miss Okanagan Packers, Miss Nova Scotia Fruit Company and the children, self-conscious playfulness takes a curious turn. Miss Okanagan Packers, dressed in a very short, frilly, juvenile outfit, suddenly performs a cartwheel for the camera; her undergarments are fully in view in this circus display (figure #80a and b). She follows this demonstration by bouncing up and down with childish delight in a close-up shot, her gaze directed at the camera.

Although not precisely pornographic, these scenes are exhibitionist in character, drawing attention to historical (actual) bodies, especially as sexualized objects. The camera work here, whether in medium shot or close up, promotes "exhibitionist

confrontation, rather than diegetic absorption" (Gunning 66) which are techniques employed for the sake of the attraction alone.⁸² Spectator identification becomes more complicated as a result of these features which follow the dictates of "cinema of attraction."

Contemplation of a two-dimensional object such as the image of Miss Canada in cartoons and illustrations is a relatively simple matter of desiring, taking on or protecting those qualities that make her an ideal of the nation. When the object of spectator identification stirs prurient interest or challenges or invites through her gaze, both contemplation of a national embodiment and invocation to national subjectivity are radically altered. On the one hand, Miss Canada and her attendants both embody and sell health and beauty; on the other hand, they sell titillation through the medium of their bodies. The Imperial Fruit show film is continually caught between declaring health and innocence and displaying sexualized objects. This disjunction is evocative of the 1911 reciprocity cartoons where, through libidinal excess, cartoon Miss Canada threatens to escape the moral strictures of a hetero-normative ideal. A collision between the ideal (health and beauty) and the actual (real bodies compromised under the camera's gaze) reminds viewers of the incompatible mythic and historical moments peculiar to documentary film. Thus, in these instances, Miss Canada is encoded with *more* (an excess of bodily inscription), yet the effect *lessens* her credibility as moral exemplar. A surfeit of embodiment, accentuated by exhibitionism and the return of the gaze back to the spectator, chafes against these intangible, but familiar qualities of Miss Canada as an allegory of nation.

The documentary effects in the Imperial Fruit Show discipline the body and the image of Miss Canada in specific ways. Camera work is rudimentary, perhaps amateur, but the effect of sustained shots taken straight on the figure of Miss Canada focalizes her as the subject of the film. Her apparent self-consciousness in front of the camera and the playful antics we see interrupt and circumvent the mythic performative of the national allegory. Her allegorical significance takes a back seat to the focalization on her body. Contrary to cartoon scenes of political scandals discussed in chapter two, where she absolves the nation of sordid crises, these images are deeply conflicted in different ways. A hybrid gaze, at once accidental and clinical but bordering on prurient, creates a familiarity in the very least, even an intimacy, between observer and observed. Focalization on Miss Canada with an attendant emphasis on health/beauty/morality, does not square with the sexualized commodity-on-display. This body is disciplined for containment and excess. The question raised by these effects is this: how does this document serve an understanding of national allegory? Now that we have an historical body in an allegorical framework, how does one characterize the national subjectivity returned to the viewer? The health/beauty/morality dynamic preserves idealization of the nation familiar from cartoons, but, in addition, the national subject is compelled to enjoy and consume the nation as commodity. An excess of inscription on the body calls to mind a national ideology tinged with commodity culture. This Miss Canada not only mythically safeguards the subject from state structures and machinations as her cartoon predecessor did, but here also offers and denies (disavows) the workings of commodity consumer culture of the modern nation. In a live-action Miss Canada, as the ensuing discussion of the early beauty pageant suggests, an historic, material referent or index

will always sit uncomfortably alongside a mythic, allegorical ideal. While allegory is historical in the sense that it relies for its very existence on temporal antecedents, it is nevertheless always locating a distant past and negotiating a buoyant future. Images of Miss Canada in the form of the documentary real focus on a material present which adulterates that mythic past and future. It is this peculiar disjunction that characterizes the problem of Miss Canada as an allegory of nation.

From the Imperial Fruit Show it is only a short step to the national beauty contest: both construct a female embodiment of the nation for a mass-mediated audience. My interest in the early Miss Canada beauty pageant (1922, 1928 and 1946-1949) will be informed by three areas of emphasis. One establishes an historical context of beauty contests themselves, especially the prototype, the Miss America pageant. The second examines various ways to read beauty contests theoretically and critically, and the third analyses photographic coverage and documentary footage of particular Miss Canada beauty pageants or pageant winners. Contrary to all but the most recent historical accounts, a short-lived, inaugural Miss Canada beauty pageant took place at Montreal's Winter Carnival in 1922. This event was not repeated in its precise form, but recent discoveries of archival photographs depicting Miss Canada from 1927 and 1928 suggest that beauty contests crowning Miss Canada existed in the intervening years between 1922 and 1946 when the Miss Canada beauty pageant, complete with a swimsuit category, began in earnest. The first Miss America pageant occurred in 1921 in Atlantic City, forty-one years after its single-event precursor, a Miss United States contest held in Delaware in 1880 (Latham 162). Both age-old Mayday Queen rituals and P.T. Barnum's beauty

contest (1854) judged on photographs of girls, considered a more seemly form of display,⁸³ predate even these early prototypes.

Distinguishing the 1921 event is the addition of the bathing suit competition: this first Miss America pageant was essentially a bathing beauty contest, organized by local hoteliers in order to keep people on the beaches past Labour Day (Latham 163). Angela Latham locates this event within and in contrast to the storm of controversy raging on American beaches regarding public bathing attire for women. As bathing costumes became more water-worthy, surveillance and censorship kept pace with the fashions. She describes the furor as one that involved women's groups and civic leaders concerned about decency:

While debate over appropriate female beach wear certainly occurred between women, it was by no means an issue given over for women to debate and decide among themselves. In some cases, extreme measures were taken against women who violated standards of decency. The *New York Times* of 19 June 1921 describes 'Seamstresses with pins, needles, thread . . . stationed at Chicago beaches . . . to censor the bathing suits worn by women and sew in those wearers who violated prohibitions.' (152).

Most beaches employed a "bathing censor" for the summer season, a male who would monitor the decency of women bathers (Latham 153). Into this social upheaval came the "legitimate" Miss America contest and Latham does well to note the paradox of public ordinances against women bathers while scantily-clad (by the standards of the day) bathers paraded with impunity in front of judges. Such is the contested nature of social

change and the double standards often accompanying women's equality struggles. As one recent commentator notes, "[beauty pageants are] always about fundamental contradictions in the culture . . . how else could you get millions of people to watch a bunch of relatively untalented women in bathing suits?" (Wilk qtd. in Neimark 2). To the dismay of some and the delight of others, the bathing suit portion of the pageant became ensconced as a focal point and efforts were centered upon other ways to improve the quotient of respectability in the Miss America pageant.

According to Sarah Banet-Weiser, the first authority to devote a theoretical, clinical, full-length scholarly study to beauty pageants and national identity,⁸⁴ organizers of the Miss America pageant "needed to conceptualize an event that truly did celebrate 'the young American woman as a symbol of national pride, power, and modernity,' within a context of solid respectability and moderation" (37). To this end, they hired Lenore Slaughter in 1935 to produce the pageant; Slaughter held this directorship until her retirement in 1967. Slaughter is responsible, among other things, for wooing a better "class" of sponsor, establishing the chaperone system to monitor behaviour of contestants and, most importantly, for inaugurating the scholarship program so that the prize took the worthy and respectable form of university education. In these ways, she garnered respectability for the pageant, bringing it out of the realm of the beach side show to the level of middle-brow entertainment. Under her tutelage,

the Miss America pageant rapidly became unlike any other beauty pageant or contest in the country in its relentless policing of femininity and behavior. This was precisely the effect Lenore Slaughter sought in her

crusade to construct the pageant as a rare entertainment venue for
 'respectable' girls. (Banet-Weiser 39)

It was thought that non-profit status and the scholarship program made the Miss America pageant incorruptible by profit motive (Banet-Weiser 47) and unsullied by flagrant displays of beauty (and skin) for their own sake. Since the Miss America pageant is the prototype for the Miss Canada contest, it is important to remember the tone of respectability that Slaughter was trying to create.

National beauty pageants in general, and Miss America in particular, are regulated by the contradiction of both an ideal and a middle-class "everywoman." Increasingly a glossy corporate spectacle, the pageant sells a version of the American dream. Banet-Weiser describes this value succinctly:

The rhetoric of ardent sincerity and moralism adopted by the Miss America pageant attempts to convince the American public that its spectacle is about re-affirming values--it is not about girl watching, or base sexuality, or even beauty in a glamorous sense, but is rather about typicality and respectability. The Miss America crown is thus held up to be supremely attainable; this crown, like commercial success, like the American dream, is there for those who try. (57)

Alongside this cult of respectability, morality and the pursuit of the American dream are three issues which add to the complexity of reading such an event: the spectating consumption of the female body and the problem of containment and excess; the special disciplining of the body and the effects of power in pageant display; and, finally, the nature of competition and its role in establishing a national ideal.

Spectators of the beauty pageant have been referred to as "viewer-consumers" (Banet-Weiser 57) for good reason. Besides the obvious link with corporate sponsors and thus with popular and consumer culture, the parade of disciplined bodies in the swimsuit competition is a spectacle for consumption like no other aspect of the pageant events. Rules and regulations for swimsuit attire and the manner in which the contestants walk in time to music emphasize strict containment while the body so exposed can only be a sign of excess: "The body in the swimsuit competition must be contained and disciplined, effectively containing in turn the potential sexual transgression visible on the exposed body" (Banet-Weiser 71). The paradox of containment and excess is a familiar one in conjunction with a feminine ideal: we have encountered this with respect to the courtship narrative cartoons and with Miss Canada in the Imperial Fruit show film. Deeply divergent but ever-informing opposites, containment and excess will always sit uneasily side by side, one edging close to the forefront every now and again, but remaining, nevertheless, a paradox of representation of woman. The significance of the sexualized display is not only borne of evaluation of the sexualized body couched in coded terms like "poise," but is also due to the "silence of the contestants" (Banett-Weiser 75). While there may be a voice-over or narrative commentary, the contestant herself speaks only through her body:

It is, in other words, a body spoken for or on behalf of. The body that is evaluated in the swimsuit competition is, borrowing again from Foucault, an 'intelligible body,' a body that explains sexuality to the mass-mediated audience. In the swimsuit competition, the intelligible body is represented in terms of a particular idealized feminine body, the body that must speak

for itself a particular story of sex, even as it is presumed to be inextricably linked to the 'human' qualities of independence and individualism.

(Banet-Wesier 76)

One way to maintain this sexualized display within the limits of respectability is to balance that availability with a moral narrative of marriageability--the hetero-normative ideal to which all contestants aspire. So the matrimonial narrative looms, but is held in abeyance for the sake of a particular sexualized display. Again, the national ideal is best understood in terms of the domestic, the local, the attainable. Sexualized spectacle only reiterates, through the silent but nevertheless sexually speaking body, the availability of the fantasy while it condones the unassailability of distinct raced-white norms. In addition, a health/beauty rhetoric, such as that endorsed by the Imperial Fruit show film, is suggested by the swimsuit parade. The expectation that physical beauty radiates health may be traced through the history of bathing attire before it becomes enshrined on the pageant stage. The changes in rules of decency were the result, in part, of a demand for freedom of movement for women who sought physical activity in the form of swimming. Suits prior to the mid-1920s were not adapted for more than floating in shallow waters.⁸⁵ However much the swimsuit emerged out of a healthful impetus to actually swim, the effects of the healthy body / beautiful body rhetoric in the beauty pageant equate these bodies with a moral centre. For without morality at its core, the beauty pageant could not boast middle-class respectability as part of its ideal image of nation. Sexuality masquerades as health and athleticism in order to advance this vision of availability and to safely sell a moral ideal comprised by white womanhood.

Disciplining of the body is not confined to the swimsuit competition, however.

The talent competition disciplines contestants in their "civilizing" function:

The role of the Miss America contestants within the talent competition is to educate the nation in terms of civility and to demonstrate the moral qualities of women as national figures. Talent as cultural capital . . . also represents the constitution of contestants as specific national figures, those who possess the ability, by virtue of their gender and their class, to function as civilizing factors in the nation's progress. (Banet-Weiser 112)

Although the swimsuit and talent competitions are classified as entertainment, they exist in discourse and are expressions of power: "a popular institution where power installs itself and produces real effects, the beauty contest is, however, embedded in a discourse that declares it frivolous or 'simply' entertainment, thereby masking the relations of power" (Stoeltje 18-19). The effects of power are recursive in that the women are disciplined within their civilizing function and the audience is disciplined to understand a particular version of culture along with a particular version of womanhood. Most critics of the beauty pageant point to the ritualized nature of the competition; these rituals operate as masks for power through their "entertainment" function, their dependability and comforting reproducibility.

A key to this kind of display that sets it apart further from that of Miss Canada cartoons, Miss Canada of photographic lineage or of the Imperial Fruit Show is the element of competition, a hallmark of the capitalist nation state. Beverly Stoeltje notes that

as the hallowed force of capitalism and the principle of most public ritual in modern society (sports and politics), competition organizes individuals into rule-governed action that sets individuals against each other until a winner is created. Competition is ideally suited to balance the forces of democracy and aristocracy, of egalitarianism and elitism, for through competition some individuals can be determined to be superior to others.

(17-18)

Competition debunks ancient or obsolete hierarchies, replacing them with a merit system upon which the culture can agree. The fact that the competitive terms established for national beauty contests are deeply ritualized, codified and circumscribed by gender, race and class make them amenable to the selection of an ideal body for the nation. Competition systematizes certain values while it denigrates others. Like individual events in the beauty contest, however, competition masks an intricate web of power effects. Averse to a free play of objective selection criteria, beauty contest judges rule out contestants using coded, subjective terms such as "poise," "appearance" and "personality." The social, moral and civic virtues embodied in a beautiful form are so highly subjective and yet profoundly important to the choice of the nation's body that they decisively reproduce a hegemonic ideal. While this entertainment is embedded in consumer culture and thus in the spirit of competition that rewards selection from among a panoply of choices, it mocks truly democratic principles of egalitarianism. A hackneyed, but nevertheless sacred, tenet of the American dream is its paean to individualism, to that social Darwinian principle of the single, struggling unit, victorious as an example to, but often at the expense of, the community.

Not widely known until a recent article by David Goss, 1922 marks the date of Canada's first national beauty pageant. Perhaps the event faded out of historical memory because it was quickly cancelled due to lack of funds to cover expenses and prizes and because of controversy over its propriety. Ostensibly, the winner would be "an all round Canadian girl who was active in winter sports" (qtd. in Goss 29). More a round of parties and social events than a display of athletic prowess, the pageant was criticized by contestants and the media alike. The Fredricton *Daily Gleaner* gives an indication of where the emphasis was placed: "it is pleasing to know that in our good girls we also lead in the best types of beauty, of grace and the national characteristic" (qtd. in Goss 30). Countering this view which celebrates physical charms and vague qualities such the "national characteristic," the *Globe* reported that beauty contests "place an undue emphasis upon mere physical attributes and, as conducted in the United States, involve wearing costumes and a display of person subversive to modesty" (qtd. in Goss 31). The winner of Montreal's contest, Miss Winifred Blair (figure #81), a stenographer from Halifax, enjoyed an enthusiastic response upon her return home, but, after rounds of local appearances, little else. The organizers were unable to make good on their promised prizes and her prolonged absence led to the loss of her job (Goss 32). While Miss Blair went on to work for another company and later married and raised two children, the legacy of this experience was as minimal for her as for the nation. Goss notes that she "rarely spoke of it unless pressed" (32). This early foray into the beauty pageant was either ill-timed because of public mores, or ill-conceived in terms of its funding, organization and public relations.

Archival photographs dating from 1927 and 1928 (figures #82, #83 and #84) indicate that versions of the Miss Canada beauty pageant were extant through the 1920s. While little is known about the pageants themselves, the photographs are telling examples of the nation's allegorical representation. Figure #82 shows Miss Canada of 1927 in a float for the Diamond Jubilee parade; figure #83 shows the same woman, styled and labeled as Miss Canada, in full classical regalia with a maple leaf headdress, photographed at the Carl Walin studios in the town of Wetaskiwin, Alberta. It is interesting to juxtapose these images with figure #84 "Miss Canada, Irene Hill" taken in the same studio a year later, because in this case, Miss Canada appears as a "regular gal" in modern, fashionable dress, with bobbed hair. These are the two faces of Miss Canada familiar from cartoons: the costumed spectacle and the everyday, middle-class woman. The differences between former illustrations and these photographs are nevertheless worthy of note. In the first place, the photographic medium registers documentary effects in ways that an illustration cannot. In the second place, the photographs, as occasional pieces, assert the importance of a particular historical moment. Finally, the allegory is inflected by real, material bodies captured in a frame.

The documentary effects, historical resonance and allegorical significance of the photographs are conceived and may be understood through a series of relationships. Timothy Dant and Graeme Gilloch state that "the content of every photograph is history" (5), and that "what photographs do is to bring the past into the present, confronting us with the passage of time and the stillness of that which has gone" (6). Taking a cue from this definition, I aim to examine that past and stir to life some of the qualities of that stillness, by foregrounding the relationships suggested by the image.

One crucial relationship is that of the photographer to his subject. A commercial, portrait photographer in the small town of Wetaskiwin, Alberta, from 1919 to 1957, Carl Walin will have had a professional and civic role to play to which these photographs attest. The two studio portraits of Miss Canada convey a relationship with the subjects based on artistic acuity, sincerity, duty, respect, commercial viability and attentiveness to historical occasion. Despite several differences between them, figures #83 and #84 are similar in that both are balanced, formal, posed arrangements, each framed with a background suited to the level of formality suggested by the pose. Artistic acuity may be located in formality, attention to details of costume and arrangement, light and shading and emphasis on straight or curvilinear lines. In the 1927 portrait (figure #83), Miss Canada is pictured standing, her hands ceremoniously clasping a scrolled paper. She is elaborately framed by a backdrop curtain and wall-sized painting, lending greater formality to the photograph. Light directed upon the figure serves to bring the costume--hence the role of Miss Canada, more than the woman--into relief. The distance between camera and subject is a respectful one and thus allows the camera to take in a full costume, including a train, as well as backdrop materials. While she looks back at the camera, her gaze does not affect the formal, linear treatment of the pose and costuming; neither does it injure the relationship of dutiful regard between the photographer and subject. Since the picture was taken on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, it resonates with civic obligation and pride in addition to its commercial viability as a studio portrait.⁸⁶ Miss Canada's costume and headdress are strongly reminiscent of Miss Canada from illustrations and cartoons, and, more obliquely, of mother Britannia, also often cast in classically inspired white garments. In order for the portrait to be conceived

in this way, Carl Walin's relationship to the subject must necessarily have included a relationship to this historical icon, vivid in cultural memory.

The relationship between photographer and subject in the 1928 portrait of Irene Hill as Miss Canada (figure #84), while not altogether different from the former, reveals some subtle distinctions. Also a studio portrait displaying artistic conventions of formal pose and arrangement, this one is a more intimate, sensual handling of a real, named woman in modern dress. Miss Hill is seated in an attitude allowing for more life-like diagonals and curvilinearity. Pictured seated, she appears diminutive and the camera can thus take in more of her body; she fills the frame with the exception of the upholstered chair and an indistinguishable, cloudy backdrop. There is a studied grace to the tilt of her head and to the delicate placement of her upturned hands. Light plays on this figure in a more dramatic way, casting shadows which accentuate the shape of her arms and legs. Also worth noting is her comparative bareness and the visibility of her feet and shoes. These features and her opened-mouth smile contrast her sensuality with the closed-mouthed, costumed austerity of the former Miss Canada. While the occasion for this photograph is far less grand and ceremonial than the Diamond Jubilee a year before, a notice in *The Wetaskiwin Free Press* announces that "the Wetaskiwin citizens will have the privilege of seeing Miss Irene Hill at the Fashion Parade that is being staged in the Angus Theatre, next Monday" (1). It is possible that the portrait was commissioned by Montgomery Brothers Ltd., the "enterprising firm [which] has gone to a great deal of trouble and expense in securing Miss Hill for the occasion" (1). The report takes care to note the source of Miss Hill's cachet: "Miss Hill won the title of Miss Canada at the 1928 Toronto Beauty Contest, and also represented Canada at the International Beauty Contest

at Galveston, Texas" (1). Hailing her credentials and her appearance at the fashion parade speaks to a crossover between a civic, national, ambassadorial role and a purely commercial one. These roles may be read in the portrait where neither the circumstances of commercial studio portraiture nor the title "Miss Canada" exist independently of one another. Rather, they are mutually implicated in how Miss Canada is to be imagined and reproduced. Less detached and dutiful than in the 1927 portrait, this camera's regard discloses the photographer's knowing, intimate eye for details of sensual glamour, historical prestige and commercial viability.

Already a national figure, owing to the Toronto beauty pageant where she gained her designation, Irene Hill is implicated in the historical moment which occasions her photograph. Her gaze back to the camera is as knowing as the camera which captures her: her eyes and smile share the practised intensity of a much-photographed face. Photography is the medium through which her accomplishments and her quasi-political function may be made known. Primed for a glamorous entrance at the town fashion show, she is not likely to stir the public imagination of nation as much as the Miss Canada of 1927 Diamond Jubilee fame was wont to do. The elaborate program for this event (probably repeated in a similar form in towns across Canada) is reminiscent of the pageant plays for school children discussed in chapter three. Following the words of "O Canada" and messages from the Governor General and Prime Minister Mackenzie King, the program includes assemblies of children, a salute to the flag, a confederation address and a pageant play in four acts. Historical in scope, the play assembles "historical episodes" of native life and first contact with explorers, followed by "Lord Durham's Dream" of union, which is then answered by "The Joining of the Provinces" featuring the

fathers of confederation. Miss Canada, who presumably arrived at the pageant in her own float as figure #82 suggests, appears in this act when the fathers proclaim the name of the new country, "Dominion of Canada," after which Miss Canada "takes her seat on the throne" (5). Her function here is a very overt, public one, intended to stir the audience's imagination of nation. She legitimizes both the commemoration of the past and the gesture toward the future, when, in the Epilogue, entitled "A Vision for the Future," the program states that "the great idea of confederation has been a success, and that the Dominion of Canada has now become one of the principal nations of the world" (5). Miss Canada's allegorical function is keenly displayed in her relationship to this historic occasion.

Like all photographic and live-action images of Miss Canada, however, the studio portraits bear a complicated relationship to allegory because of the fact of real bodies captured in a frame. Saturated by that other form of representation, bodies as object-on-display and thus inflected by containment and excess, this allegory is encoded differently, like that of the Imperial Fruit Show Miss Canada and others discussed above. The audience, enjoined to imagine nation in response to the costumed spectacle Miss Canada of 1927, is urged by this medium to imagine more besides. The studio portrait of Miss Irene Hill is particularly primed for viewer consumption of an historic body in both space and time over a mythic body. Bodily presence and mythic essence do not cancel each other out, but they vie for spectator attention and thus trouble the allegorical mode. Unencumbered by material presence in the same way, cartoon and illustrated Miss Canada straddles allegory's requisite past and future more easily than these embodied versions.

By 1946, Canada was apparently ready for the lure of "costumes and a display of person subversive to modesty" as the *Globe* in 1922 unwittingly foretold. Part of the city of Hamilton's centennial celebrations, the Miss Canada beauty pageant revived and has continued in some form into the present day. Miss Marion Saver of Toronto was the first Miss Canada who received "a cheque, watch, silverware, a trip to the U.S.A. for a screen test, and a meeting with President Truman" (Bailey and Carter 49). Ties to the American pageant are unmistakable given the prizes which pay homage to consumer culture, Hollywood and American politics, respectively. By 1947, when Margaret Marshall (another Torontonians) won the title, one of the prizes was a spot in the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City. Again, following the American example, in 1948 a university scholarship was awarded annually. Although the Canadian pageant was not organized as a satellite of its American predecessor, the prizes--especially the winner's inclusion in the Miss America pageant--suggest an indebtedness to and a reverence for America's version.

Media coverage of the first Hamilton contest focused on three key aspects worthy of note: images of Miss Canada and other contestants as objects-on-display, Miss Canada's domestic suitability and availability and, finally, the role Miss Canada will take as an ambassador for the nation and as a role model for its citizenry. The *Toronto Star* ran a head shot of Marion Saver ("Rabbit's Foot" figure #85) and a group shot of the bathing beauties lined up for the judges (figure #86). The *Globe and Mail* chose a full body shot of Marion Saver in her swimsuit (figure #87). Even though the early Miss Canada contest held day wear, evening gown and talent competitions, the emphasis is placed upon either the fragmented image (head shot only) or the bathing suit category.

Both the *Globe* and the *Star* ran an itemized checklist of Saver's measurements and physical attributes:

Miss Canada is five feet seven inches in height, weighs 124 pounds, takes 7 ½ double A shoe, a 14 dress, and her bust is a 32. She has gray-blue eyes, light brown hair, an infectious smile, white matching teeth and plenty of personality. (Gibb n. pag.)

The *Globe* story spent a good deal of ink on rumours and accusations that some of the girls were "padded." A Miss Webb complained of the unfairness because "... this phoney business shouldn't happen in a beauty contest. After all, falsies aren't beauty." The fracas was settled by a judge who put to rest any doubts about choosing someone from the falsely endowed ranks: "if they don't jiggle they aren't real ... And I can tell" ("Rabbit Scores" 4). This fragmentation of body parts calls to mind a kind of objectification that borders on the fetish. As Susan Bordo suggests, this "objectification" relies upon

the continual cultural fetishization of women's bodies and body parts--breasts, legs and butts, for example. But these fetishes are not mere body parts. Often, features of women's bodies are arranged in representations precisely in order to suggest a particular attitude--dependence or seductiveness or vulnerability, for example. (*Twilight* 125)

The reader imagining the "parts" of Miss Saver could put them together in any one of these suggested packages. Dismembered, the proportions and features are further commodified and speak of disembodied ideals of the female form, rather than of the whole individual. Also, the discussion of "parts" and the image of the "line of beauties"

(figure #89) are a reminder of the silent body speaking its sexuality: "frequently, even when women are silent . . . their bodies are seen as 'speaking' a language of provocation" (Bordo, *Unbearable* 6).

The hetero-normative rules of domesticity and marriageability are spoken loud and clear, however. Miss Canada's mother is quoted for the headline: "Beauty Queen Good Knitter But Only Fair Cook." Further into the article, Miss Saver's mother lists her daughter's accomplishments. According to her mother, Marion descends

from good U.E. Loyalist stock She is an expert gardener. My daughter can knit well but she isn't much of a cook. She's an outdoor girl, likes to skate, ski, swim and play basketball. She is not engaged, but has some boyfriends. (Gibb n. pag.)

The mother focuses primarily on her daughter's potential as a wife (her ability to knit and garden) and is careful to mention her availability for this market: "she is not engaged, but has some boyfriends." Note also how her suitability as an authentic Canadian is framed by her lineage in "U.E. Loyalist stock," and how her health and athleticism are stressed by the mention of her being an "outdoor girl" who "likes to skate, ski, swim and play basketball." These attributes add a tone of respectability, moral exemplarity (through the health/beauty trope) and measure of domestic value, for it is in the realm of domesticity that the nation is understood and reproduced.

Miss Canada is expected to do her part in representing Canada both at home and abroad, and in nurturing a particular national subjectivity. Part of the prize is a meeting with Prime Minister King in Ottawa and with President Truman in Washington. The stated end of these trips is to invite both dignitaries to the Toronto air show in September

of that year. Furthermore, Miss Canada's duties include "presenting immigrants with citizenship papers" (Bailey and Carter 49). As a representative of the nation's body, she confers citizenship on new Canadians, and, in so doing, she acts as boundary marker or gate keeper while she sets an example as the ideal national subject. Chosen from many contestants (sixty-two that first year), Miss Canada is both an ideal type and an average, middle-class Canadian girl. Like the American pageant, the Canadian one both typifies womanhood and exemplifies a national ideal, yet this paradox of the typical and the exemplary is performed in an unproblematic, seamless manner.

Lending grace and respectability to a popular cultural event, Miss Canada of 1947, Margaret Marshall, attends the opening of the Imperial Theatre in Toronto. The film footage takes in a large, eager crowd outside the theatre, a magician side show welcoming audience members to the Variety Club show and clips of a dance and a comedy performance. The presence of the magician and the physical nature of the comedy routine in the show itself create a carnival atmosphere. The camera turns on the audience for an extended shot in order to register its delight in the lively program. Miss Canada is in view twice during the short film: once outside the theatre where she is interviewed briefly for a radio spot, and once during the performance when she is accosted by the comedian, Billy D. Wolfe.⁸⁷ In the first instance, the audience acquires a sense of her role as a celebrity attending public events. She is dressed tastefully but soberly in a dark satin suit and she smiles and responds cheerfully to questions. In the second instance, Miss Canada is caught a little off guard when the comedian, Billy D. Wolfe, shakes her hand, only to draw her to him and plant a prolonged, forceful kiss on her mouth (figure #88). She recovers her composure, and seems to take the moment in

stride. Playing for laughs, the comedian ends the kiss in a flourish by lifting his leg, mocking uninhibited pleasure at his conquest. The exchange, like the compromised images of Miss Canada and Miss Okanagan Fruit Packers in the Imperial Fruit Show film, marks an intriguing moment from the perspective of a critique of representation. This unscripted record draws attention to Margaret Marshall as a flesh-and-blood woman and the object of men's desire. She is an historical actor in a real-life social drama, a role that intrudes upon her iconic and mythic stature as the body of the nation. The public nature of her position leaves her prey to those who would use her for audience attention, laughs or their own prurient interests. Such claims on Miss Canada call to mind the J.W. Bengough cartoons "Whither are we Drifting?" (figure #7) and "How Long is this Spree Going to Last?" (figure #8) where she is handled rather crudely by Sir John A. Macdonald. On those occasions, however, caricature and satire save her from moral obloquy. In the live-action version, Miss Canada must satisfy competing desires: as an object of fantasy and desire and as a respectable, middle-class allegory of nation. These corporeal and non-corporeal modes are in constant conflict and flux.

As documentary, the footage of the Imperial Theatre opening is more haphazard than most observational cinema since camera angles are not used to effect and shots are straightforward and brief. More can be said about the footage which tracks the Miss Canada pageant of 1949, filmed in Toronto. Whether the film was used whole or in part for newsreel footage is unknown, but since it follows the pageant from start to finish it captures a narrative of sorts: there are scenes leading up to the event and chronological coverage up to and including the crowning of Miss Canada for 1949. The film opens with long and travelling shots of convertible automobiles, each transporting a Miss Canada

hopeful who waves majestically from her perch. The camera takes in the motorcade from a distance in a shot that conveys the pomp and circumstance of the event because the view encompasses a stream of cars and the entire street. The motorcade calls to mind large civic or national festivals where dignitaries parade to the delight and awe of onlookers. Each contestant, wearing a fashionable ensemble, is then deposited ceremoniously on the steps of Maple Leaf Gardens where the pageant is to take place. The camera takes a moment to capture the gathering crowd of bystanders as they watch the women on the steps. The looks on their faces are strangely vacant or hesitant, perhaps in awe or busy sizing up the contestants--it is impossible to say for certain--but their gravity is apparent.

The camera chronicles the pageant in the order in which events occurred, but it is nevertheless selective in the type and duration of its coverage. Following the scene outside Maple Leaf Gardens, the camera picks up at the talent competition. Contestant Betty Brown models a suit; next, Bridgett Burton performs a cartwheel in an acrobatic display. After her comes an elegantly dressed singer, Joan Durell. A tap dancing contestant, Gloria Gray, follows and then a hula dancer, Beverly McDougall, performs in revealing Polynesian dress. Finally, Scottish Highland dancer, Dorothy Von Sichen, undertakes a traditional sword dance. The only talent that receives a close-up shot is the hula dancer, perhaps due to the "exotic" quality of Miss McDougall's costume and chosen art form (figure #89). The talent sequence as filmed affords the audience a sense of the breadth, if not the depth, of talent. Because of the segment's latitude in display of talent, unspecified as to type, genre or standards, it fits a description of "middle-brow" entertainment, offering the audience a burlesque hodgepodge which neither challenges

nor offends middle-class sensibilities of judges or audience. The extensive range of performances grants the talent category an effect of miscellany and mediocrity. It is the job of the contestant to school the audience in a form of cultural civility (Banet-Weiser 112) suitable for the nation, and this directive necessitates a split between humble, girlish exploits and highbrow forms of expression. Middle-brow culture is specifically gendered female, however, for it "contains the threat of women who publicly perform their femininity by retrenching and reconnecting this femininity with refined social distinction and civilizing and edifying tendencies" (Banet-Weiser 113). Thus these performances are of a certain circumscribed femininity, as much as they are a display of talent. The limits of this femininity can be secured through the talent category. The audience, and by extension the national subject, is being trained to recognize civility of national culture in various middlebrow entertainments.

Despite rapid cuts necessitated by incorporating a subject within a very short film, the camera lingers longest on the swimsuit parade. This moment is most strongly coded for woman as sexualized object-on-display. The women are all in regulation one-piece suits and all wear high heels to show legs to advantage. In this sequence, the most important documentary effect is the camera angle: the shot is taken in a dramatic angle upward in order to contain the whole body and to emphasize the length of leg (figure #90). Once the line of beauties has been addressed by the camera, the shot cuts to the panel of judges, looking very sober indeed, and then to the audience, seen applauding enthusiastically. The camera then cuts back for a long and then a medium shot of the swimsuit parade. It is significant that the camera cuts to the judges and audience at this particular moment in the contest because the effect is to corroborate the filmmaker's

reaction to the bodies with that of the judges and the audience. A sense of collusion is created between the camera and the historical audience. Also, by moving away from the bodies and back again, the camera creates anticipation. The film viewer is given a beat to absorb the tension of the moment and to feel in step with the intensity and difficulty of judging and the wonder and delight experienced by the live audience.

Returning to Banet-Weiser's reading of the silent bodies speaking and to Bordo's notion of the fetish signified by sexualized body parts, I want to emphasize how this Miss Canada pageant segment works within this rhetoric. Contestants parade silently and adeptly, maintaining the obligatory smile. Their bodies are controlled but exposed and thus emphasize containment and excess while they speak a circumscribed feminine sexuality. Fragmentation of body parts occurs when the camera shoots upward on the bodies and at one point cuts to a few head shots. At the risk of observing too fine a distinction, I note that the American pageant displays the bathing beauty in an individual performance; the Canadian one, at least in this event on film, opts for a parade of all the girls. Whether the American alternative is a nod to the status of the individual, or whether it is simply a choice of staging or timing, is open for speculation. What can be determined, however, is the effect a parade has on a reading of the visual field created by the camera. When considered together, the impressive number of beauties, the rhythm of their steps in unison, and their relative similarity (especially in black and white film), guarantee the women are bountiful and reproducible--not unlike an agricultural crop. This is the nation's production: bodies-on-display. Whether the subjects are apples or bodies, the emphasis is on abundance, production and the value that these add to the nation. Both reproducible and reproducing, the women represent the productivity of the nation. This

moment presents one of the deepest distinctions between the Miss Canada beauty pageant and Miss Canada of cartoons and illustrations. The effect of material abundance signified by several bodies moving in concert, and of many possible ideals among which one will emerge as the standard, is decidedly different from focalization upon one, single, two-dimensional female allegory. The single-image cartoon Miss Canada, while she may assert a domestic, moral ideal, cannot offer the abundance of this filmed array. Parameters of the beauty contest itself and of the camera's technological facility reframe the ways in which a national allegory can be imagined.

The final scene of the pageant footage depicts the evening gown competition at the moment when Margaret Lynn Munn is crowned Miss Canada of 1949 by her predecessor, Betty Jean Ferguson. The contestants are lined up with an aisle between two rows, from where the new Miss Canada can approach the throne. The viewer catches a glimpse of full-length gowns, gloved hands and coiffed heads before the focus shifts to Margaret Lynn Munn, who seats herself on the throne to receive her crown and ermine robe (figure #91a and b). The evening gown competition, installed as a regular feature in the Miss America pageant in 1922 (Banet-Weiser 36), calls attention to "homogeneity" as does the swimsuit category, but it raises the bar of femininity to a glamorous level. Where the talent category accentuates banality in popular culture, the evening gown returns the event to enchanting spectacle for its own sake and for the sake of respectable, conventional womanhood: "the display of standardized feminine bodies parading before a panel of judges is evidence not only of self-discipline, but also of the conformity that is produced by such surveillance" (Banet-Weiser 88). The selection of a winner is an exercise in dubious superlatives because if the categories esteem homogeneity, then what

does it mean to choose a queen from among the throng? While Canada may produce many examples of the ideal, middle-class white beauty, there can be only one allegorical body to represent the nation. Trappings of royalty (the throne, crown and ermine wrap) convey an elitism to this final selection which contradicts the erstwhile egalitarianism of the pageant. Democratic principles of equality implied by homogeneity chafe against this moment of apogee.

Documentary turns the pageant into a mass-media event which can be endlessly repeated. Once on film, the Miss Canada pageant will be a media spectacle scaled for the camera. Repetition occasioned by the film treatment and by the contest's appearance year after year eases that dual observational problematic of historical, social actors captured within the iconic, mythic body. Unlike the Imperial Fruit Show, a one-time event (at least in terms of film record), the pageant's repetition makes a bid for mythical timelessness. The women are actual bodies existing in a temporal realm, yet the pageant cheats the rigours of time because each year a new Miss Canada will be crowned. While film records historical actors, it preserves mythical ones. Mythical status, in turn, safeguards the allegorical function of the Miss Canada image by preserving historical antecedents while, at the same time, guaranteeing ideals and values for the future. The cartoon versions of Miss Canada never pretend to record historical, social actors in the first place, so their access to mythic allegory is unquestioned. The technology of film (and later television, since the pageant was first televised in 1963) provides the means to sustain female allegorical embodiment of the nation, even though the substance of that allegory may have changed.

Since camera angles and types of shots are more complex in this documentary as compared to those in the Imperial Fruit Show film, they raise questions as to the film's "axiographics" or "implantation of values in the configuration of space, in the constitution of gaze and in the relation of observer to observed" (Nichols 78). Distance shots, travelling shots, medium close ups, close ups and angled shots deliberately handled denote a high degree of investment in the construction of even so brief a film. These shots help to shape the event as spectacle and place value on the body of woman as commodity-on-display. Close-up and angle shots emphasize whole and fragmented bodies and shape the women for viewing pleasure. The "relationship of observer to observed" is an intimate one relative to cartoons and to the Imperial Fruit Show film. The effect of this intimacy is two-fold: first, it creates an expectation of "transparent access to history" (Nichols 43), a sense of being "really there;" secondly, it feeds the notion of *availability* back to the viewing and national subject. By availability I refer to both the matrimonial narrative, the assurance that Miss Canada is single but ready to reproduce the nation, and to the availability of national subjectivity fed back to the viewer. The Miss Canada pageant on film and its emphasis on the winner--Miss Canada herself--targets an ideal national subject to emulate or desire.

Audiences for this pageant event in 1949 and print media enthusiasm for the pageant in 1946 witness a new and distinctly modern phenomenon. It is fair to state that audience assumptions about her political role are unconscious and compliant. These assumptions are, however, no more ideological than the construction of the pageant itself and the belief that this embodied Miss Canada offers something real and substantive to the nation. Especially, as discussed in chapter two, in cartoons detailing political crises,

Miss Canada stands in for the nation while she disavows the apparatus of the state. Here, the estrangement and disavowal are not so simple. Naïve and unequivocal faith in her ambassadorial functions suggests that the early embodied Miss Canada was believed to have carried out a state-sponsored, political role. Her meeting with the prime minister and president, her distribution of citizenship papers and her attendance at public events attest to this public responsibility. The way that the pageants were (and largely still are) constructed and reproduced on film exposes a different kind of disavowal. Libidinal excess and containment are normalized by respectable, civil entertainment while commodity-on-display and material, commercial prosperity are occluded by middle-class, moral exemplarity. One only has to extend this critique into recent times to understand how unfamiliar the work of this female allegory has become in relation to the cartoon forebear.

Miss Canada's official capacity is so moribund that few Canadians could name a single Miss Canada beauty contest winner from the past several decades. The place of beauty pageants in the culture seldom comes under scrutiny unless a vicious scandal involving a contestant breaks in the news. Two such examples are the Danielle House assault outrage of 1996 and the Lynsey Bennett scandal of November 2002. House was charged with assault after she punched another woman in a bar in Newfoundland; later, she posed for *Playboy* in a maneuver like that of Miss America Vanessa Williams' *Penthouse* stint.⁸⁸ Lynsey Bennett (figure #92) made headlines in November of 2002 when she chose to boycott the Miss World Pageant after riots caused the deaths of more than two hundred people in the host country of Nigeria (Friscolanti A4). Riots were sparked by protests over a remark in a Nigerian newspaper suggesting that the prophet

Muhammed would have selected a wife from among the contestants. This remark and the pageant's "display of nudity" (qtd. in Friscolanti A4) during the holy month of Ramadan fuelled an incendiary situation between Muslims and Christians in that country. Bennett's laudable boycott and swift return to Canada was quickly undermined by her expressed wish to return to the pageant once it had been relocated to London. Her humanitarian, political and ethical stand was apparently short-lived. Reaction to this scandal amounted to a scathing indictment of the shallow "escapism of the pageant" (Kingston A18). In a vehement critique of the episode, columnist Anne Kingston wrote that

it has also forced us to face the folly of fixating on symbols. No longer can we just shrug off the conceit that Miss Canada is an innocuous representation of Canadian women. Because if Lynsey Bennett is able to take to that London stage, swimsuit taped in place, deluding herself that she's participating as a blow for human rights or some other absurd beauty-queen nostrum, she sure as hell doesn't represent me. (A18)

Kingston's reaction speaks to the specious role of a beauty pageant contestant and to the fact that this kind of representation is deeply flawed and misguided in a pluralistic society. She implies that the representation and the pageants that support it, far from being innocuous, are in fact downright damaging because they play and entertain on the fringes of the "real world," and their spokespeople are simply nonplussed when real events thwart their aims. While the Miss Canada of cartoons made no pretensions to solve the problems of the world or bring about world peace, she was nevertheless connected to the popular through high visibility in mass media, and to the political through issues and political figures that accompanied her in the cartoons.

Being out of touch with a public constituency except when scandal looms is one way to determine the distance between the nation and Miss Canada in the present day. Another way is to ascertain the degree to which this representation has become a commercial entity. The idea of commodity-on-display, first broached and discussed with regard to cartoons and illustrations in chapter one, and developed more fully in response to the photographic and film versions here, is irrevocable in the present day. The best evidence for the imbrication of commercial capital and commodity-on-display with the cultural figure of Miss Canada lies in the fact that there is *no such thing* as a Miss Canada or a Miss Canada pageant. The moniker "Miss Canada" and the Miss Canada Pageant are the sole property of Baton Broadcasting, whose subsidiary is Cleo Productions, based in Toronto (Dunsdon qtd. in Sloan). The last "legal" Miss Canada was Nicole Dunsdon, crowned in 1992. The company cited "production costs" as the motive for ending the pageant, while feminists stated that it was "outdated and sexist" ("Unforgettable"). Instead, there have arisen no fewer than four⁸⁹ enterprises producing a national beauty pageant: "Canadian Search for Miss Universe" (the official preliminary for the Miss Universe Pageant) crowns "Miss Canadian Universe"; in addition, there is "Miss Canada International," "Miss Canada Universe" and "Miss World Canada" pageants (Miller qtd. in Sloan). This splitting and fragmenting of the national beauty pageant underscore two points: first, pageant production is a market-driven industry, and secondly, the nation's cultural imaginary cannot rely upon a single representational icon as it may have done in the early days of Miss Canada pageants. Titles for these events address the global scope of the pageant industry: evidently, globalization has hit the pageant circuit with a vengeance.

Photographic and film versions of Miss Canada build on a relationship to consumer culture that is more transparent and keenly developed than that of her cartoon and illustrated predecessor. At the very least she is seen selling Canadian prosperity as an envoy of trade interests. At the extreme end of this spectrum she becomes a product for viewing consumption in a medium that increasingly relies on commercial capital for its popularity and distribution. While she is still allegorical in this form, especially in the early Miss Canada pageant due to its repeated instantiation, her presence as a social, historical actor complicates an understanding of national allegory. Allegory is focused primarily on a distant and honoured past and on a limitless and bright future.

Photographic and film images of Miss Canada bring the present to bear upon allegory because of the immediacy and materiality suggested by the technology and because of its emphasis on modernity and the present day. Allegory's diminution in dimension and detail was foretold in the "Chrétien legacy" cartoon; its temporal coordinates may be enriched by the present day, but its political efficacy is etiolated to an extreme. Both the immediacy of the medium and the emphasis on consumer culture thrust the present energetically into view. Canada may be seen as having entered a thoroughly modern world as a result. The kind of ideal womanhood shaped by the Miss Canada beauty pageant challenges that modernity because of its atavistic portrayal of respectability within a very circumscribed feminine sexuality and middle-class civility. In this way, Miss Canada has not "grown up" in step with the nation which she purports to represent. In terms of the pageant's beginnings in the U.S. in 1921, one can understand it gaining ground to dispel vestiges of the "New Woman" and to ward off the dangerous "flapper," but its timing in post-war Canada may relate to safely containing women in an infinitely

marriageable, domestic ideal in order that women leave the workplace to returning soldiers. As to questions which have hitherto guided this study, one might ask if there is room for dominion and daughter of Empire in the image of Miss Canada where we leave her in the 1949 beauty pageant? Or, has the break to nation been made in no uncertain terms? A Miss Canada pageant responds to different imperial powers--the United States and commercial capital. Up until this moment in iconographic history the shift to nation from dominion and daughter of Empire has been a recursive one, not following a tidy trajectory at all. Mythic national imagining includes these persistent historical representations, however much new ones have taken their place. Recent explosions in the pageant market, to the exclusion of "Miss Canada," a wholly owned, commercial designation, suggest that beauty pageants are alive and well. Since the image disavows a pluralistic nation in favour of a homogenized blend of woman and commodity culture, whose global coordinates ensure spurious and expedient claims to nation, then it may be said that allegorical weight and insistence are attenuated beyond the reach of the nation.

Epilogue

Miss Canada, the Archive and the Survival of Allegory

By examining the cultural and historical foundations for Miss Canada, her appearance in discrete historical moments, her broader cultural valence in the literary mode and her various manifestations in photography and film, I have effected a chronological and cultural study of one of the nation's key allegorical, mythic figures. Its incipience and emergent status long passed, the nation still wrestles with cultural definition and so must take stock of historical moorings and recent modifications. Even during the Dominion of Canada's early years, nation was being imagined in cultural forms. Miss Canada supplied an idealized face for the nation in its process of becoming. Although she is in many ways a political figure in the cartoons due to her political companions and to the topical scenes in which they appear, her allegorical makeup nonetheless shields the viewing subject from sordid machinations of state formation and function. The ideology of nation hinges on this form of misrecognition. Melodramatic narratives of subjection, courtship or rescue that are found in several cartoons give way to matrimonial narratives promising a domestic, reproductive future in literary examples featuring Miss Canada. As the goal or prize, Miss Canada provides narrative closure. She is a key figure in these narratives, but she later circumvents narrative movement and narrative closure in photographs and in beauty pageant footage through a particular performance of gender which insists on her middle-class, moral exemplarity and her perpetual availability. In these more recent versions, politics and narrative are compromised in favour of commodity spectacle. Although the paradox of the female body's containment and excess is first seen in cartoons and illustrations, it is intensified in embodied, live adaptations.

Parading on the global stage, Miss Canada represents less of the nation as it is imagined in culture, and more of the capital that produces and sustains this embodiment. Newly crowned Miss Universe, Natalie Glebova, provoked editorial writer Alan Kellogg to exclaim, "We won" in a momentary lapse of "victory of reasoned nationalism over the excesses of globalism," and to praise Glebova for making a "post-feminist, self-doubting, mixed economy northern outpost proud" (A2). In spite of being "a tough sell in Canada" (Kellogg A2), according to promoter and self-styled pageant web-archivist Jimmy Steele, beauty pageants are suddenly front-page news when one of "our own" takes the top prize. Even the most celebratory coverage, however, does not lose time in mentioning that the pageant is co-owned by real estate mogul and kitschy television personality, Donald Trump.

While it has been fruitful to trace Miss Canada in political cartoons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is as difficult to establish absolute origins as it is to anticipate future variations. Each version of this image may be distinct in terms of its medium and its ideological effect, but each is not, however, discrete. Female allegorical embodiment is haunted by earlier incarnations, even as its terms and contexts evolve and make different demands on the audience, viewer or reader. Miss Canada may have all but disappeared from the cartoon scene, but female national allegorical embodiment is extant in different ways. In a recent account, Miss Canada appears as a coquettish bar patron in a humorous editorial dialogue by Jack Knox entitled "A Border Bar Scene . . . Does Pretty Canada Care What That Cute America Thinks?" If tossing her "wheat-coloured hair" in hopes of impressing the United States is any indication, she evidently does. The conversation between the narrator and Miss Canada covers topics

from hockey rivalry to continental security, missile testing and potential U.S. control over "military, trade, foreign, health and immigration policies," so the dialogue turns on Miss Canada's vulnerability, desire to please and, on occasion, feisty defense of her sovereignty (read as her sexual integrity). Chastising her for flaunting herself, the narrator remonstrates:

'You're a typical teenage girl,' I said. 'You base your sense of self worth on the approval of boys--or at least one boy in particular.'

'I know,' she wept. 'I try to tell myself that his opinion doesn't matter. But he's so big and powerful, he's hard to ignore--not that he ever pays any attention to me!'

'Are you sure that's what you want?' I asked. 'Guys like the United States are only interested in one thing.'

'Crippling the Canadian forest industry with unfair, blatantly protectionist lumber duties?'

'OK, they're interested in two things,' I said.

'And your well-being isn't one of them.' (Knox A18)

Distinct echoes of the courtship narratives are heard in this glib repartee where a sexual economy is once again invoked to highlight Miss Canada's vulnerability *vis à vis* the U.S. The differences between this narrative rendering and cartoons and other images found in earlier historical periods are the particular political stakes at issue and the fact that this Miss Canada is herself a figure of satire. In previous versions she was featured *in* satire but rarely *as* satire. Even though former courtship narratives from which this piece draws its inspiration are also satiric, the dialogue here may be defined as parodic, at least as

Linda Hutcheon uses the term to signal the distance between an original work and its newer counterpart: "a critical distance is implied between the background text being parodied and the new, incorporating work, a distance usually signaled by irony" (32). This critical distance permits the reader to question how Miss Canada is re-inscribed with ideals of nation or, conversely, how she departs from these ideals in the writer's effort to capitalize on irony and the underlying gravity of his message concerning American imperialist designs. Miss Canada's savvy resilience to her treatment is a testament to both gendered cultural norms of the present day and to a familiar blend of spirited confidence and self-deprecatory humour common in political satire.

Perhaps the most deliberately parodic treatment of Miss Canada to date, performance artist Camille Turner's "Miss Canadiana" (figure #93) resplendent in red gown, red and white sash, tiara and Canadian flag, stages herself at public events and ceremonies. Despite her wry, satiric send up of Canada's "lip service paid to . . . a multicultural society" (Dixon R1), Turner understands the layered, complicit function of her adopted identity:

Whenever I go places, people ask to take my photo. People have asked me for my autograph. It's like being larger than life. . . . Complete strangers come up to me and hug me, just weird things like that. I'm realizing how identity is something you construct and you put on. (qtd. in Dixon R1)

As a black woman originally from Jamaica, she recalls "racial taunts, and the feeling at times she didn't belong" (Dixon R1). Her "Miss Canadiana" identity attempts to chide Canada's purported inclusivity and thwart the white, middle class ethos of the national beauty queen. Interestingly, her beauty queen identity has the effect of "white-washing"

her difference.⁹⁰ One Senegalese French woman remarked to her that "when Turner becomes Miss Canadiana, she no longer thinks of her as being black" (Dixon R1). The category of "Miss Canada" is, after all, a white, hegemonic regulative model, to echo Mark Hallett, which the satire evokes and with which it must equivocate. Like satiric cartoons, however, this performance retains enough of its hegemonic origins and dispenses enough ironic play to be both satire and celebration. The role is both politically charged and oddly enjoyable for Turner. In it she lays claim to the kitschy and "fetishized" (Dixon R1) accoutrements of Canadian souvenirs and beauty queen culture. But with it she also redefines a sense of home, for Canada "was for her the place where her family would be reunited, after her father left Jamaica to search for a better place for them to live" (Dixon R2). The critical distance between parodic Miss Canadiana and the myriad versions of Miss Canada is ironic, to be sure, but judging from the straightforward delight evoked in her audience wherever she appears, her mythic proportions are not altogether diminished in spite of the critique Turner offers. More hopeful is the notion that her difference redefines or is accommodated by the myth.

However infrequently Miss Canada is invoked to represent the nation, the question nevertheless remains: why does she still fit the bill? Does her historical, cultural valence save her from being banal and clichéd? I suggest that the weight and familiarity of history is only partly responsible. The capacity of female gendered allegory itself stakes a more valid claim on this persistent signature. Thus, while I have argued that Miss Canada as a commercial, commodified figure is no longer a viable means to allegorize the nation, her allegorical presence is not so easily relinquished. Besides being the "chief weapon of satire" (325) as Angus Fletcher affirms, allegory has the facility to be relevant

to historical antecedents while its artifice masquerades as something natural, evolving or organic. Allegory's usefulness lies in its capaciousness, its ability to be filled up with meaning as the occasion dictates. Allegory's persistence and resilience in culture speaks to its "powerful will to survive the future" (114) as Paul Smith claims.

The fact that most, and especially, *national* allegory is commonly gendered female presents its own set of problems for critical scholarship. We read Miss Canada within the framework of a history of representation, rather than a history of women, and this reading indicates how extensively gender is deployed in the service of hegemonic discourse. These conventions have little to do with gender struggles and forces of change. One avenue of inquiry that this study opens up is the examination of the gaps and, indeed, the resonances, among a history of women, gender struggles, women's literary expression in Canada and the kind of representations Miss Canada occupies. That Miss Canada, or at least a gendered female national allegory, has been invoked in relatively recent literary works such as Margaret Atwood's poem "Backdrop Addresses Cowboy" (1970), and Susan Swan's historical novel, *The Biggest Modern Woman of the World* (1983), is inducement for bringing this type of investigation into contemporary terms. How do these more contemporary female national allegories compare to versions in earlier visual and literary culture? Are these versions parodic and, if so, what can be learned from the critical distance between them and their predecessors? Are parodic interventions in the Miss Canada pantheon a means for accessing and assessing a more complicated, pluralistic and politically vexed post-modern culture?

Returning to the theoretical foundations which began this study, I reiterate Fredric Jameson's claim that "real social contradictions, insurmountable in their own terms, find

a purely formal resolution in the aesthetic realm" (79). I suggest that images of Miss Canada, from political cartoons--the medium which inspired and largely drove this research--to advertisements and illustrations, literary figures, photographs and film images, are indeed aesthetic acts which might, if left unexamined, resolve, or at least divert, real social contradictions of history, politics and gender. Opening up the spaces where those contradictions can be found has been a sincere and chief goal of this research. Scholars of literary and visual cultural studies in Canada are accustomed to tracing the myth making and narratives of Canada's cultural output. I hope that this study tracks such myths, but with a critical imperative that contextualizes but does not exonerate or reify them. This research has assembled an archive of sorts. That assemblage is only partial at best, and, as such, my hope is that scholars will continue to accrue and analyze this archive. Recalling my earlier invocation to Foucault on the archive, I will, for my purposes at the close of this study, re-adjust the lens he uses to view it. Rather than a "privileged region" that "surrounds our presence," and in light of the perseverance of this allegorical image into the present day, a more productive and apt approach may be to describe this archive as in and of our present, an archive that "delimits us," but just as readily expands our understanding of this historically resonant and culturally pervasive representation.

¹ See Graeme Turner's definition of representation as a "discursive mediation which occurs between the event and the culture and which contributes to the construction of national ideologies" (*National* 123).

² Press regards Hogarth's election series as a progenitor of political satire in cartooning: "Hogarth introduced the cartoon to political conflict" (34).

³ See Lora Rempel on graphic satire in the reign of George III. She notes that while scathing satire depicting King George "voraciously devouring the symbolic body of the British polity" (18) in *Monstrous Crows at a New Coalition Feast* falls just short of treason, the cartoon was not censored. The doctrine of the king's two bodies protects the concept of Kingship in spite of the irreverent and hyperbolic image: "there is no suggestion that the political fabric should be ripped, torn, or refashioned" (20).

⁴ Marina Warner's study of the allegorical female body is particularly instructive concerning the relationship of figures such as Britannia to historical antecedents.

⁵ See Owens ("Allegorical" 68) on allegory's ability to redeem the past and P. Smith on allegory's "powerful will to survive the future" (114).

⁶ Rutherford.

⁷ In a report on the Census of Montreal conducted in 1891, for example, of the ten daily newspapers in the city (six French and four English), six list individual men as publishers, proprietors or managers. The report lists thirteen out of a total of twenty-two weeklies; eight of these thirteen indicate a sole proprietor or a partnership of two individuals. The remaining are listed under company names which does preclude them from sole proprietorship; however, one cannot assume that one person is at the helm of these publishing companies (Lovell 107-08).

⁸ See Greer and Radforth, "Introduction."

⁹ See unpublished conference paper entitled "Whose National Allegory? The Question of Miss Canada as a Cross-cultural Signifier" (Fowler).

¹⁰ The "cultural turn" in translation studies represents a shift that opens translation up to readings that do not necessarily privilege the linguistic signifier. Culture accommodates multiple forms of representation (Fowler 5-6). According to Sherry Simon, "the process of meaning transfer often has less to do with *finding* the cultural inscription of a term than in *reconstructing* its value" (138).

¹¹ See Bacchi and also Dean (*Practicing*).

¹² Notable among treaties signed in the early years of the dominion is the Washington Treaty of 1871 when Canada watched as Britain negotiated away fishing rights to the U.S. in return for peaceful, diplomatic relations. Cartoons of the period depict Canada

demurely handing over her fisheries (figure #1 "Dominion Day . . ."; figure #2 "The Right Kind of Valentine").

¹³ I take this notion from Judith Butler who writes that gender is "a forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of discipline, regulation, punishment" (232).

¹⁴ Irigaray. See *The Irigaray Reader*, ed. Margaret Whitford.

¹⁵ Witness the convergence of voices of class, race and specifically Christianity and labour in the following admonition by a Victoria B.C. mayor in 1882: "Unless some immediate and urgent steps are taken to restrict this heathen invasion, the rapid deterioration and ultimate extinction of this province as a home for the Anglo-Saxon race must ensue" (qtd. in Ward 11).

¹⁶ Theorists in visual culture have long eschewed pure perception except as a phenomenon of scopical regimes associated with scientism or positivism (See Jay's discussion of Cartesian Perspectivalism). Chris Jenks insists that "in order to know which world we are in and at which level we are working, we need to investigate the interests, values and intentions that were operating in the production of the image" (12). This approach speaks to the inherently social and cultural constructedness of the visible, the reading of which is a "skilled cultural practice" (9).

¹⁷ I am basing this view on her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," first published in 1975. Mulvey has since re-assessed her model, but the original is nevertheless useful as a point of departure.

¹⁸ See Banta and also Banner.

¹⁹ Conversely, on the stage or on screen, melodramatic conventions may be found in any number of other signifiers: lighting techniques, musical score, set design or other non-diegetic cues.

²⁰ One cannot overstate the influence of British cultural modes in Canada during the period under study. My interest is in the general swath cut by melodrama across cultural forms, and included in these is cartooning, an art form which, in Canada especially, owed much to its British predecessors and counterparts.

²¹ Drawing on Michael Booth's research, Gledhill catalogues the scope of visual expressions in the nineteenth century: art galleries, museums, lithographs, the shopping arcade, monuments, the plate glass window and "the craze for illustrated editions of the classics" (22).

²² I make a distinction here between cartoon and stage or early film melodrama where the threats are often realized. In the 1919 film, *Back to God's Country* (director David

Hartford), the audience is aware of Dolores' rape and imminent peril at the hands of Rydal.

²³ I use the term *heimlich* very deliberately here to suggest the uncanny familiarity the viewer may experience in the presence of Miss Canada's image. However, since Freud's concept of *heimlich* and *unheimlich* bears similarity with Barthes' version of myth, I will address the significance of this evocation at a more opportune moment in this introduction.

²⁴ In polite versions, which constitute the greatest number of cartoon examples, mild to moderate satire is used and is most often directed at a political event or figure whom the artist wishes to lampoon. Simply put, these polite versions might fall under the category of Horatian satire. Cartoons with a stronger or more partisan message, employing greater invective through caricature and unseemly exaggeration, may be described as Juvenalian satire. However, it is important to note that such categories muddy subtle variations and nuanced readings. Miss Canada is most often seen as an ideal figure who is rarely herself the subject of satire. The scope of allegory's function in satire is indeed capacious. Adapting Angus Fletcher's views on satire to the allegory of Miss Canada, I would argue that allegory is "an instrument of universal conformity" while it is also "the chief weapon of satire" (325).

²⁵ Conversely, Landes also notes that perceived dangers of women in public life were envisioned by images of the monstrous, grotesque and bestial: "The female grotesque drew attention to the long-standing iconographic tradition of representing all evil--including discord, enmity, license, vengeance, and anarchy--in the figure of a hideous female body" (115-16).

²⁶ Like Britain's John Bull, America had its masculine counterpart in iconic imagery: Brother Jonathan or Uncle Sam. Masculine representations register as vernacular figures which are a consequence of "the rise of the common man," whereas female icons are typically more formal figures "belong[ing] to the genteel tradition" (Fleming 20).

²⁷ I use Mark Hallett's phrase again here to suggest the cultural valence and consent accorded to the ideal version of Miss Canada in the cartoons. Hallett's use of this term and my appropriation of it will be the subject of discussion later in this chapter.

²⁸ Banta's "Beautiful Charmer" includes, but is not limited to, the Gibson Girl type. Her terms are different from Banner's, but both writers' interpretations of ideal beauty are complementary since both see a movement from one beauty type to another, more modern, athletic girl. Banta's "New England Woman" is perhaps a more localized or regional image than Banner's "Voluptuous Woman"; nevertheless, both were supplanted by a "Gibson Girl" type.

²⁹ Collette Guillaumin, in her study on the construction of race theory, credits the "fixation of somatic determinism" (65) with entrenchment in and scientific credence given to beliefs about race and human potential. Taxonomies developed by Linneaus and

Buffon in the eighteenth century gave way to studies such as Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inegalité* and Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). Alongside racial categories and racial fitness, these theories held women to be inferior to men; however, interpretations gave women a moral way out. Moral exemplarity could raise women from bestial, non-rational incompetence belied by their brains and bodies. In *Women, Art and Power* (1997), Whitney Chadwick writes: "Anatomy, physiology, and Biblical authority were repeatedly invoked to prove that the ideal of modest and pure womanhood that evolved during Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901) was based on sound physiological principles" (175).

³⁰ As Lucy Bland states, nineteenth-century craniologists discovered "that women shared with Negroes a narrow, child-like skull and head in comparison to the round-headed small-jawed males of the 'higher races.' " Such characterizations, and the controls they elicited, coincided with a time when "both groups were currently challenging their subordination" (74).

³¹ See Davin on the desirability and promotion of motherhood in late nineteenth- early twentieth-century England.

³² Benjamin's version of commodity fetishism differs in emphasis from Marx's original view: "For Marx, commodity fetishism emerged when buyers attributed value as inherent in the physical existence of a commodity to be bought, rather than in the labour that went into its production. . . . The very nature of a capitalist economy promotes commodity fetishism. Its essence lies in the systematic misrepresentation of commodities as having meaning, or value, as inherent properties, which can be bought or exchanged--a conception that ignores that fact that value, beyond the simplest use value, is a consequence of production" (Qualter 50). For Benjamin, value seemed to be placed in a visual register which is why he referred to "commodity-on-display" as images of "wish" fulfillment. He knew very well that the bourgeois ideal was only materially available to a few, while it was visually available to all who strolled the marketplace.

³³ On Canadian state formation see Greer and Radforth. For a discussion of social implications of state formation see de la Cour, Morgan and Valverde and also Ng. The growth of capital, manufacturing and urban populations must, indeed, have fuelled this state formation: "From 1871 to 1901 the aggregate value of capital invested in Canadian manufacturing rose more than five times, from \$78 million to \$481 million, and hundreds of plants opened in the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario. . . . Between 1891 and 1901, while the rural population of Canada grew by roughly sixty thousand, its cities and towns grew by half a million" (Johnston 28).

³⁴ The connection between advertisers and the public sphere is significant. Johnston is clear on this point. He argues that "advertising is also a system, in that it provides financial support to cultural producers in the public sphere. It provides a structuring influence to publishing, broadcasting, and now the new media. Hence, advertising's role in society is both cultural and structural" (9).

³⁵ Hallett also credits this legitimacy with wider urban amusement culture--the London coffee-house, for example--and commercial, self-promotion by engravers in advertisements, subscription tickets and trade cards. Print and engraving culture was a thriving sector of urban society.

³⁶ *Allegory of the Great Fire of London* c.1700 by Nicholas Goodnight, after Gabriel Caius Cibber (Hallett 211).

³⁷ See Brooks and also Gledhill.

³⁸ Hallett's terms and my understanding, are indebted to Julia Kristeva's *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982).

³⁹ Carol Mavor explores the subversive possibility of this coupling in her readings of Julia Margaret Cameron's photographs of Madonnas. The Victorian photographer was iconoclastic in her choice and treatment of images because of her celebration of touch--within the grouping of Mother and child and on the altered plates themselves--and her flouting of class hierarchy (her model was her servant and close friend). Mavor finds these aspects and the sensuality and intimacy of the portraits suggestive of a Madonna "with a difference" (50).

⁴⁰ One need only take into account the range of newspapers and magazines featuring Miss Canada and the length of her reign in cartoons to measure this success. She held sway over a consenting audience by virtue of her sustained currency from the 1860s until approximately 1920. Some of the publications in which she appeared include *The Canadian Illustrated News* (Montreal), *Le Canard* (Montreal), *The Montreal Herald* (Montreal), *Grip* (Toronto), *Toronto Saturday Night* (Toronto), *Diogenes* (Toronto), *B.C. Saturday Sunset* (Vancouver), and *Punch* (London).

⁴¹ Historian Walker Connor refers to the "obvious, but all-too-often ignored fact that nation-formation is a process, not an occurrence or event" (158).

⁴² This is not to say that cartoons cannot be deeply subversive. Francisco Goya's *Los Caprichos* series comes to mind as does Thomas Nast's crusade against corruption and graft led by Boss Tweed and his "Tammany Gang" in New York in the 1870s. John Geipal notes that the victims of cartoons were eager to staunch their power: "'I don't care what they print about me,' Tweed protested, '... most of my constituents can't read anyway--but them damn pictures!' Napoleon had much the same to say of Gillray--Hitler had David Low shortlisted for liquidation" (Geipal 24-5). However, the tradition of graphic satire and print culture out of which Canadian cartoons grew was more moderate as it opted instead to "accept the legitimacy of those [it] criticize[d]" (Press 75).

⁴³ Jolly uses this term to describe the ways that white women "colluded with male myths of white women" (110) in the colonial setting. My adaptation of the term, while admittedly free, points to the imaginary qualities of the allegorical Miss Canada and the

manner in which her image alleviated antagonisms that could be traced in the political and social sphere.

⁴⁴ For a thorough biography of Bengough and especially of his magazine *Grip*, see Cumming.

⁴⁵ For a record of these proceedings, especially letters to Governor General Lord Dufferin concerning the prorogation of Parliament, see "Message: Papers relative to the prorogation of Parliament on the 13th of August, 1873."

⁴⁶ See Blake "Three Speeches."

⁴⁷ See Den Otter "Nationalism and the Pacific Scandal."

⁴⁸ For a thorough study of Canadian nationalist thought in the context of imperialism see Berger, *Sense*.

⁴⁹ I do not mean to discount a third position, the movement for independence, but find that its most vocal spokesperson, John Skirving Ewert, articulated his views later (1911).

⁵⁰ Father of the poet and cultural nationalist, F.R. Scott.

⁵¹ Not, it seems, for lack of trying. Several solutions were proposed, including an elaborate scheme by Thomas Macfarlane which called for an "Imperial Revenue duty of five percent . . . on all foreign imports into every part of the Empire over and above local tariffs." Such a tariff would "defray the cost of the British navy." Overseeing the newly formed Imperial Ministry would be an Imperial Senate, "formed by so re-constructing the House of Lords as to give representation to each division of the Empire in proportion to its contribution to the revenue" (12).

⁵² Grey Owl or Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance are examples of white or mixed heritage people living as natives in Canada.

⁵³ See Takahashi, Chuck, Victoria Society and "The Hindu in Canada."

⁵⁴ The fate dealt to the *Komagatamaru* in 1914 fell under this "continuous journey" clause. Its passengers were not allowed to disembark; eventually, it left Vancouver harbour with provisions provided by members of the Sikh population on shore. One witness described the incident as "a shameful story" (Ross, qtd. in "The Hindu in Canada").

⁵⁵ Restriction, exclusion and marginalization only increased, culminating in the Immigration Act of 1923 which effectively ended Chinese immigration. See Li and also Roy for thorough accounts of these regulations and exclusions.

⁵⁶ Indeed, popular media in central Canada produced expressions of racial prejudice. See, for example, a "humorous" poem by F. Bret Harte reprinted in *Canadian Illustrated News* (10 Sept. 1870) which finishes, "That for ways that are dark/ And for tricks that are vain/ The heathen Chinees is peculiar/ Which the same I am free to maintain." Debates in labour newspapers were particularly vehement in their condemnation of Chinese immigration. See "Ah Sin."

⁵⁷ De Lauretis, (*Alice Doesn't*). The Oedipal "pleasure of the text," interpreted by Barthes, is "to know, to learn the origin and the end" (qtd. in de Lauretis 106). According to this paradigm, argues de Lauretis, "women are not the enunciators of the question: what is woman?" Rather, they are considered "the objects of desire and the objects of the question . . . prompted . . . by men's desire to know" (111).

⁵⁸ See McLaren.

⁵⁹ In addition to Singer's debt to more recent scholars, he credits Brooks for building upon the work of Eric Bentley (1964), Michael Booth (1965), Robert Heilman (1960 and 1968), David Grimstead (1968 and 1971) and Thomas Elsasser (1972).

⁶⁰ One may even go so far as to argue that scopophilia defines this scopic regime.

⁶¹ "With apologies to C.D Gibson" reads the fine print. This illustration is a direct parody of a Gibson Girl drawing which suggests that the artist is invoking a popular American cultural icon--at that time *the* image for America's haughty, sexy type. Familiarity with the Gibson Girl and its revised political context adds savvy, political clout to this cartoon, but it also supports my contention that a sexual economy is being deployed to illustrate a power differential.

⁶² There are many others, not under consideration here, which do not feature Miss Canada. They use caricature exclusively, or animal allegories or other allusive devices to convey their message.

⁶³ Sutherland.

⁶⁴ The railway, however, made those home markets possible (W.T. White 3).

⁶⁵ See Colquhoun.

⁶⁶ Support is particularly evident in the period from 1902-1904. See "The Way," "Reciprocity Resolutions," and "Reciprocity with the United States," where arguments for reciprocity with Canada are represented.

⁶⁷ "Lord Balfour's proposal for a 'British Commonwealth of Nations' linked by no more than sentiment, tradition, and a common monarch . . ." (Morton 212).

⁶⁸ The statute which gave Canada control over international affairs.

⁶⁹ It must be remembered that the first flush of voluntarism in 1914 was keen from both English and French-speaking Canadians.

⁷⁰ See Senator Belcourt's speech of 1912 (qtd. in Zucchi 61).

⁷¹ An inadvertent and welcome gain for the suffrage movement which helped pave the way for further progress in enfranchisement following the war.

⁷² As described in Sprague 146.

⁷³ In cases where the cartoon figures appear static and not engaged in fabula, the caption affords narrative shape and energy, especially, as is frequently the case, when the caption takes the form of a character's words or a dialogue between characters.

⁷⁴ See Berger on the strong identification between the north, Canada's white race and a morally pure and industrious people ("True North").

⁷⁵ This line, considered until recently to be an echo of Wilfrid Laurier's promise delivered at the turn of the century (Lougheed), reflects a common sentiment of the time regarding Canada's buoyant future.

⁷⁶ Dr. Helen McMurchy, a strong proponent of the eugenics movement and of other social purity discourse, was a friend and biographer of the author, Edith Lelean Groves. According to the record of her achievement detailed in this biography, Mrs. Groves believed in amelioration of society through education, as she was active and successful in founding schools for special needs children. By 1926, she had established the "School for Crippled Children" and through her work as a member of the board of education in Toronto and later as its chair, she traveled widely and spoke often of her experience and efforts in the field of what is now called special education. While Mrs. Groves' belief in education for the benefit of the nation is clear from these plays and exercises and also from her speech opening the Jarvis Street Junior Vocational School for Boys where she stated, "May he go out from this building ready to play a man's part in the industrial or commercial life of Canada," it is impossible to know and unfair to surmise that she, too, was a supporter of eugenics. Her association with special education and, more loosely, with McMurchy, can be read as a commitment to social, urban and, above all, educational reform inflected by a strongly imperialist and nationalist orientation typical of her day.

⁷⁷ This cartoon originally appeared in *The Ottawa Citizen*.

⁷⁸ My use of this term is partly indebted to Jean Francois Lyotard's definition, where he states, "by metanarratives or grand narratives, I mean precisely narratives with a legitimating function" (19). The contemporary cartoon is undoubtedly part of the overarching "grand narrative" of the historical cartoon Miss Canada, long extant in print media. Her image has a legitimating function, as I have argued in chapter two; however,

in this instance, the metanarrative is also deployed parodically to destabilize that legitimacy.

⁷⁹ I base this notion on Mulvey's comparison of the Freudian and Marxian fetish, found in her essay, "Some Thoughts."

⁸⁰ The Imperial Fruit Show film is now housed in the national archives of Canada as part of the Millicent Rice fonds. According to ArchivariaNet (Library and Archives Canada online research tool), "the donor's father, John Forsyth-Smith, was the Canadian Government's Fruit Trade Commissioner for Europe for the years 1914-1933" (Film, Video and Sound-National Archives of Canada).

⁸¹ See Ng on the institutionalization of health and social welfare.

⁸² Freedom from diegesis is what made cinema so appealing to the avant-garde movement (Gunning 66).

⁸³ This development is discussed in Banner (255-61) and Latham (161).

⁸⁴ Frank Deford and A.R. Riverol are known for their historical work on the subject. Banet-Weiser's approach is informed by a theoretical and critical apparatus familiar to this project and is therefore amenable to my purposes. For this reason I rely substantially on Banet-Weiser's authority.

⁸⁵ I refer to bathing attire used for "taking the waters" as a restorative cure in places like Baden Baden, Arkansas and Banff. This popular, healthful practice did not involve swimming.

⁸⁶ It is not known whether the portrait was commissioned for the occasion or donated by the photographer.

⁸⁷ Names of individuals appear in the National Film Board stockshot library web-based catalogue.

⁸⁸ Banet-Weiser remarks on how Vanessa Williams "managed to fulfill the expectation of a 'colorless' America" but her resignation meant she "could not maintain the fiction of race transcendence--the pornographic photographs immediately and detrimentally reinscribed her racial identity" (131).

⁸⁹ Information regarding these pageants is as recent as a web search was able to provide at the time of writing.

⁹⁰ In her discussion of Vanessa Williams, Banet-Weiser comments on how racial difference is elided.

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Appendix



figure 1 "Dominion Day: Canada's Debut at the Council of Nations" *Canadian Illustrated News* 1 July, 1871



figure 2 "The Right Kind of Valentine" *Canadian Illustrated News* 18 Feb., 1871



L'IMPERIALISME

Malgré les corvées et la Colombie Anglaise, Lortie est pour la politique de la "porte ouverte."

figure 3 "L'imperialisme" Alonzo Ryan
Le Canard 25 Sept., 1899



L'IMMIGRATION

SEPTON: Voici un joli lot d'immigrants que j'ai eu pour presque rien. MELR CANADA: Mon Dieu! Combien va-t-il m'en coûter pour les renvoyer?

figure 4 "L'immigration" Alonzo Ryan
Le Canard Aug., 1900

MISS CANADA'S RESCUER



Uncle Sam: "Seize her, fellows! Now's your chance! Ah ha! Miss Canada, you shall not escape!"



Sir John: "I think you had better call some other day gentlemen."

figure 5 "Miss Canada's Rescuer" Patterson
Conservative Election Poster 1890



figure 6 "The Cut Direct"
Montreal Herald 23 Sept., 1911



figure 7 "Whither are We Drifting?"
J.W. Bengough Grip 16 Aug., 1873

figure 8 "How Long is this Spree Going to Last?" J.W. Bengough *Grip* 5 Sept., 1885



DR. MING CHANGA IN THE CLUTCH OF THE POOL FIELDS OF CORROSION

figure 9 "To the Rescue!" J.W. Bengough
Grip 29 Aug., 1891



MISS CANADA DREAMS.

figure 10 "Miss Canada Dreams" A.G. Racey
Grip 10 Dec., 1892



THE PEACEMAKER.

figure 11 "The Peacemaker" *Montreal Star* 1894



SWEET SEPTEMBER

figure 12 "Sweet September" *Montreal Star* 1894

Autumn Whispers

figure 13 "Autumn Whispers" *Montreal Standard* 1910



figure 14 "Contentment" *Montreal Standard* 1910



figure 15 "On Life's Threshold" *Montreal Standard* 1910



figure 16 "Miss Canada's Summer Vacation"
F.J. Willson *Canadian Illustrated News* 6 Aug., 1882

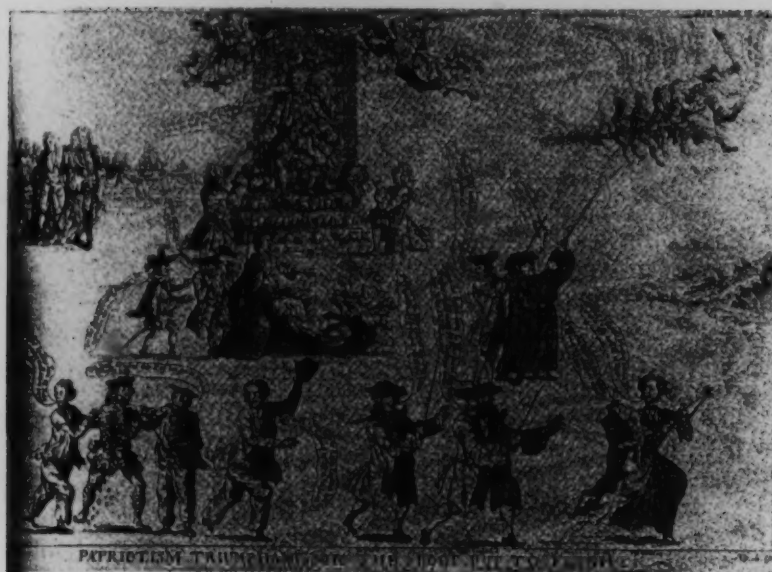


figure 17 "Patriotism Triumphant or the Boot Put to Flight"
1763 Anon. Etching. British Museum London



figure 18 "The Contrast-Which is Best" Thomas Rowlandson
Hand-Coloured Etching, 1792. British Museum London



figure 19 "Sir Rowland LeGrand" John Tenniel
Punch 19 Mar., 1864



figure 20 "The Oracle" John Dixon Mezzotint
1774 British Museum London



MUTUAL SERVICE.

Ireland (to Europe): "I'VE BEEN DOING MY BEST FOR YOU IN EUROPE; PLEASE DO YOUR BEST FOR ME IN IRELAND."

figure 21 "Mutual Service" Bernard Partridge
Punch 5 Aug., 1914



Figure 22 "Australia Wants to Dance Too"
The Boomerang Brisbane 1891



Coming events cast their shadows before. Sir Charles Lilley, C.J.: 'Now, my dear, when you have quite made up your mind about that new bonnet, I'll hoist this new flag!'

figure 23 "Republicanism Emerges"
The Boomerang Brisbane 1889



figure 24 "The Reign of Terror" *Sydney Punch* 1864



figure 25 "France Being Devoured by Crows of All Kinds"
Ignace Granville and Eugène Forest Lithograph 1831



— Tenez, ça fait équilibre.

figure 26 "La République" Honoré Daumier
Le Charivari 25 Nov., 1871

Frau Austria.

Illustration: H. V. A. W. 1911



„Zieht mich nur ganz aus — schließlich merket ihr dann endlich darauf kommen, wie schön ich bin!“

figure 27 "Frau Austria" Die Muskete 1911



figure 28 "The New Belle" To Canada Government Publication 1906
Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior



figure 29 "God, Our Country and Liberty"
Civil War Poster 1861

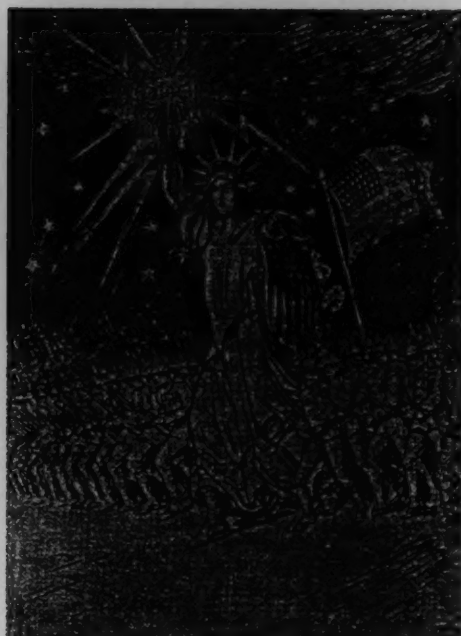


figure 30 "To France" W.A. Rogers *New York Herald* 1917

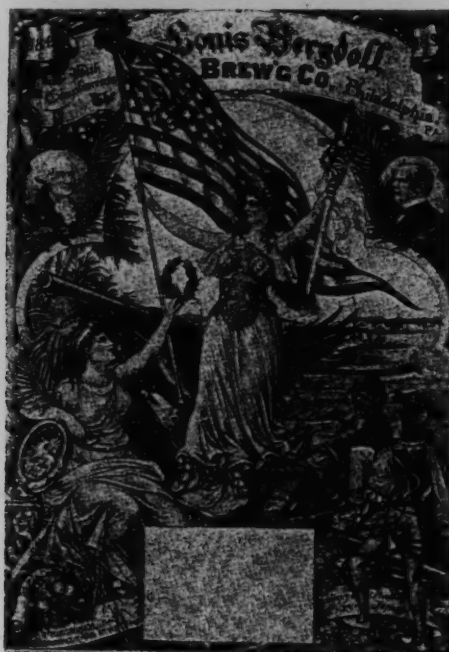


figure 31 "Liberty Triumphant 1849-1899"
Louis Bergdoll Brewing Co. Poster 1899



figure 32 "Columbia" Photograph
Suffrage Tableau 13 Mar., 1913



© Collier's Weekly

THE GREATEST GAME IN THE WORLD—HIS MOVE

figure 33 "The Greatest Game in the World—His Move" C.D. Gibson *Collier's Weekly*
reprinted in *Portrait of an Era as Drawn by C.D. Gibson* by Fairfax Downey 1936



figure 34 "The Great Reciprocity Game-Her Move" J.M. Groner
Saturday Night 16 Sept., 1911



figure 35 "Evolution" A.G. Racey
Montreal Star 1918



figure 36 "The Life Saver" *Montreal Star* 12 Jan., 1911



figure 37 "Canada Musters Her Manhood"
Gillette Safety Razor Advertisement World War I

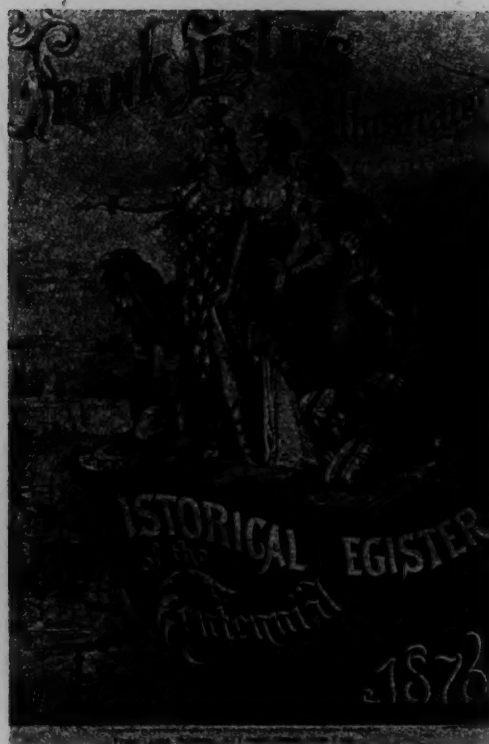


figure 38 "Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition" Poster New York 1876



figure 39 "Latin British Exhibition" Cover Fine Art Catalogue 1912



figure 40 "Latin-British Exhibition"
Official Guide London 1912



figure 41 "Thermos Flasks" Advertisement
Festival of Empire Catalogue London 1910

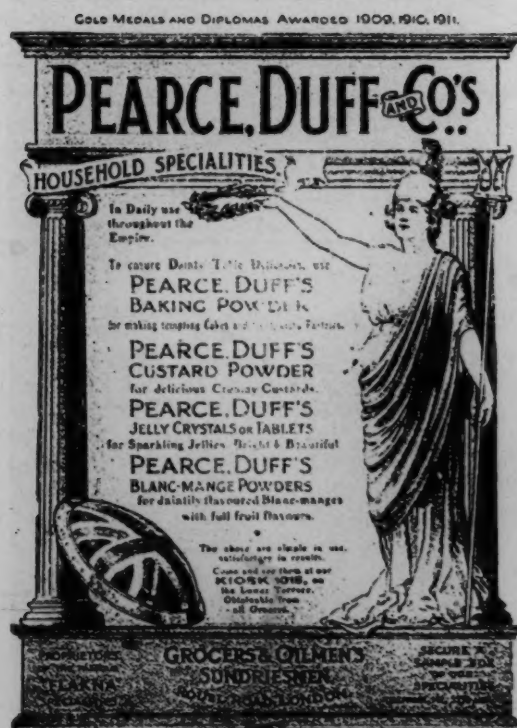


figure 42 "Pierce, Duff and Co.'s Household Specialities"
Festival of Empire Catalogue London 1910



figure 43 "Farrow's Bank" Festival of Empire Catalogue London 1910



figure 46 *Harlot's Progress, Apprehended* William Hogarth
1732 Etching and Engraving British Museum London



figure 47 *Gin Lane* William Hogarth
1751 Etching and Engraving British Museum London



A PERTINENT QUESTION
 MRS. BRITANNIA. Is it possible, my dear, that you have ever given your
 cousin Jonathan any encouragement?
 MISS CANADA. Encouragement! Certainly not, mamma. I have told him
 we can never be united.

figure 48 "A Pertinent Question" J.W. Bengough *Diogenes* 1869



Uncle Sam-Waal marm, I guess we'll trade.
 Mrs. Waal - "I think it is hardly fair, Jonathan, but for the sake of that little (what?) I'll agree."
 Canada - "But 'tis no use!" "No, marm, don't give my golden goose for that old
 pig-pen, but I have no choice!"

figure 49 "Uncle Sam-Waal marm, I guess we'll trade" "
Canadian Illustrated News 24 June, 1871



figure 50 "Take Care My Child" *Canadian Illustrated News* 23 July, 1870



figure 51 "The Premier's Model. Or, Implements to Those Who Can Use Them" *J.W. Bengough Grip* 29 Nov., 1873



figure 52 "Miss Canada's School" J.W. Bengough *Grip* 8 Nov., 1873



figure 53 "Pity the Dominie! or Johnny's Return"
J.W. Bengough *Grip* 7 Feb., 1874



WHAT INVESTIGATION REVEALED.

figure 54 "What Investigation Revealed"
J.W. Bengough *Grip* 7 Apr., 1877



"CRY HAVOC! AND LET SLIP THE DOGS OF WAR!"

figure 55 "Cry Havoc and Let Slip the Dogs of War"
J.W. Bengough *Grip* 4 Apr., 1885



ANOTHER DECORATION NOW IN ORDER.
THE GALLANT VOLUNTEERS HAVING RECEIVED THEIR WELL-
EARNED MEDALS, HER CANADA WILL PROCEED (IT IS
HOPE) TO BRING HOME THE EFFORTS OF THE
HALFBREDS, BY GIVING THEM THE
RIGHTS THEY FOUGHT FOR.

figure 56 "Another Decoration Now in Order"
J.W. Bengough *Grip* 22 May, 1886

318 PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI [May 8, 1897]



A DECIDED PREFERENCE.
And, still the War Clouds. "There's no war here! They expect to be welcome as they return to home!"
[The illustration given in this article has already been used in the "Punch" of the 1st of May, 1897.]

figure 57 "A Decided Preference"
John Tenniel *Punch* 8 May, 1897



FAREWELL.
 "In other instances than the above, may belong to this who are for some reason in places of distress, in their native regions, to visit and collect the
 and in their opening quarters."—Source of the Library of Congress at Washington.

figure 58 "Farewell" Frederick J. Willson
Canadian Illustrated News 29 Oct., 1881



LE BON SAMARITAIN

figure 59 "Le Bon Samaritain" (Henri Julien?)
L'Opinion Publique [Montreal] Dec., 1880



THE SAME ACT WHICH EXCLUDES ORIENTALS SHOULD OPEN WIDE
THE PORTALS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA TO WHITE IMMIGRATION.

figure 60 "The Same Act Which Excludes Orientals . . ."
H.N. Hawkins *B.C. Saturday Sunset* Aug., 1907



figure 61 "After" A.G. Racey *Montreal Star* 1911



figure 62 "Just Wait Until Ulysses Public Gets to the Polls"
A.G. Racey *Montreal Star* 1911



figure 63 "A Sudden End to this Serenade Now Due"
A.G. Racey *Montreal Star* 1911



figure 64 "Sammy-'O List Fair Maid...'"
Montreal Daily Witness 28 Feb., 1911



The Public Guardian: "Hey there!"
Philadelphia Record.

figure 65 "The Public Guardian: 'Hey There' "
Toronto Saturday Night 25 Feb., 1911



figure 66 "Well, I'll Be 'Gol Durned!"
(J.M. Groner?) *Montreal Herald* 22 Sept., 1911



figure 67 "Canada's Share in War, Victory, and Peace"
Quebec Chronicle 1920



figure 68 "Setting the Task"
Canadian Illustrated News 6 Feb., 1875



figure 69 "The Situation"
Canadian Illustrated News 29 Jan., 1870

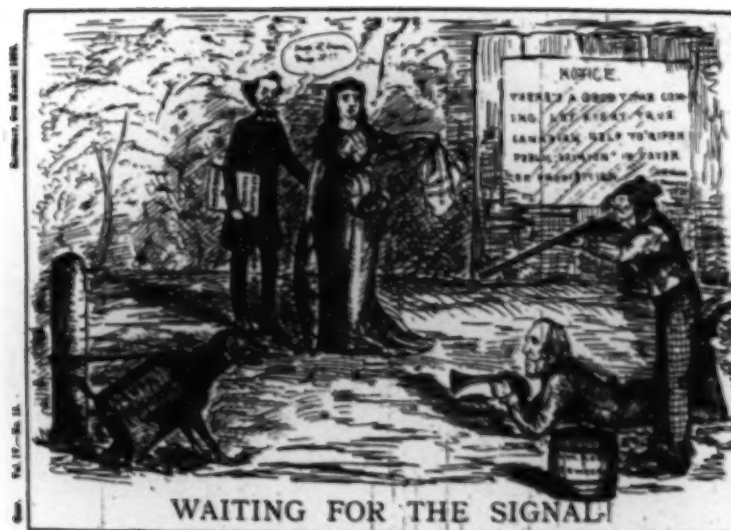


figure 70 "Waiting for the Signal" J.W. Bengough Grip 6 Mar., 1875



figure 71 "On the Next Episode of Jean Millionaire"
Cam National Post 18 Feb., 2003



figure 72 "A Girl From Canada" T.A. Chandler 1907
Gelatin Silver Print Library and Archives Canada



figure 73 Miss Canada at the Imperial Fruit Show
1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 74 Miss Canada in Orchard Landscape
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 75 Miss Canada with Bandaged Baby Birmingham Hospital, England
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 76 Miss Canada with Miss Okanagan Packers and Woman in Native Dress
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 77 Miss Canada, Miss Okanagan Packers and
Miss United Fruit Company with Children in Hospital Beds
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 78 Miss Canada Lifting up Her Skirt
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 79 Miss Okanagan Packers on Swing
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 80a Miss Okanagan Packers Preparing for Cartwheel and 80b in Full Cartwheel
Imperial Fruit Show 1929-1932 Library and Archives Canada



figure 81 Winifred Blair Miss Canada 1922



figure 82 Miss Canada Float Diamond Jubilee 1927
Carl Walin Photo Wetaskiwin Alberta Archives



figure 83 Miss Canada 1927 Diamond Jubilee
Carl Walin Photo Wetaskiwin Alberta Archives



figure 84 Miss Canada 1928 Irene Hill
Carl Walin Photo Wetaskiwin Alberta Archives

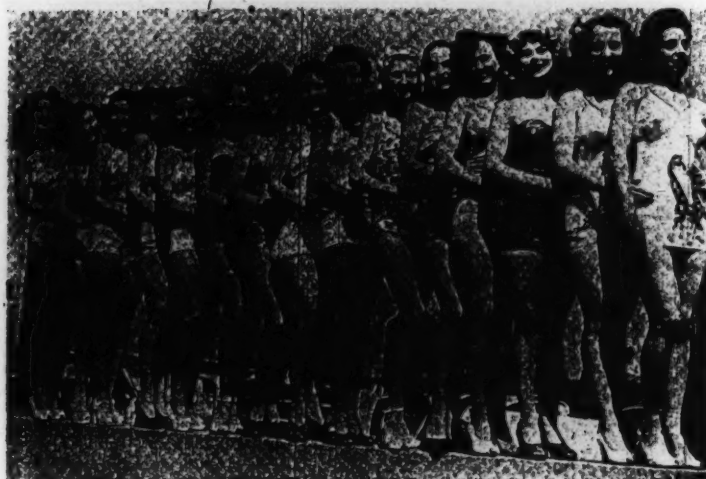
RABBIT'S FOOT HELPS BEAUTEOUS TV



MISS CANADA for 1946 is glamorous Marion Saver, of Toronto, selected from 39 beauties at Hamilton's centennial celebration. Chosen Miss Toronto in 1943, Marion had a rabbit's foot at the time and carried the lucky piece yesterday. Here, she kisses it

figure 85 Miss Canada 1946 Marion Saver

Toronto Daily Star 5 July, 1946



LONG LINE OF BEAUTIES greeted judges in the Hamilton contest. One contestant came from Yellowknife and another from the wilds of British Columbia. Miss Canada was a last-minute entry in the contest and kept it a secret from her sisters. She is slated to have a screen test within the next few days

figure 86 "Long Line of Beauties . . ." Miss Canada Pageant Photo

Toronto Daily Star 5 July, 1946

Rabbit Scores Again, Toronto Girl Top Beauty

Hamilton, July 4 (UPI)—A pretty Toronto girl, 22-year-old Marion Saver, won Hamilton's Spectator Beauty Contest tonight and became Miss Canada of 1946.

Miss Saver, who was Miss Toronto of 1945, successfully beat 144 girls with her previous accomplishments. During the contest, she had to sing, dance, and act in a play. She also had to win a contest to see who had the best hair.

More than 1,000 people saw the final page of the contest at Royal York. Before going to the contest, Miss Saver had to win a contest to see who had the best hair. She also had to win a contest to see who had the best hair.

Before the title, Miss Saver was a 1945 Miss Canada and a crown. She also took 2,000 letters of commendation and got a trip to Ottawa and Washington to meet President Roosevelt and Vice-President Truman in the International Air Show at Toronto in September.

Miss Saver is a half-sister of the famous Canadian actor in Toronto. She lives with her father, Stuart Saver, a Toronto insurance man, at 136 Parkview St., North York.

Five feet six inches tall, she weighs about 120 and has light brown hair and blue eyes. She is a former member of the Hamilton High School and the Hamilton High School.

Judging the contest were Harry Cameron, Hamilton's most successful businessman, and his brother-in-law, the former Mayor of Hamilton, Arthur Cameron. Hamilton-born I. J. and I. J. Cameron, Hamilton's most successful businessman, and his brother-in-law, the former Mayor of Hamilton, Arthur Cameron.

Publicity. No later.

The contest was judged by a jury chosen from Hamilton's Hamilton High School. She stated that at least 12 of the 144 contestants were wearing "bikini" in the beauty contest.

"There are at least a dozen girls in the contest who are married," said Miss Saver, who was a runner-up.



figure 87 Miss Canada Marion Saver
Globe and Mail 5 July, 1946



figure 88 Billy D. Wolfe Kissing Margaret Marshall Miss Canada 1947
Variety Show Opening of Imperial Theatre, Toronto



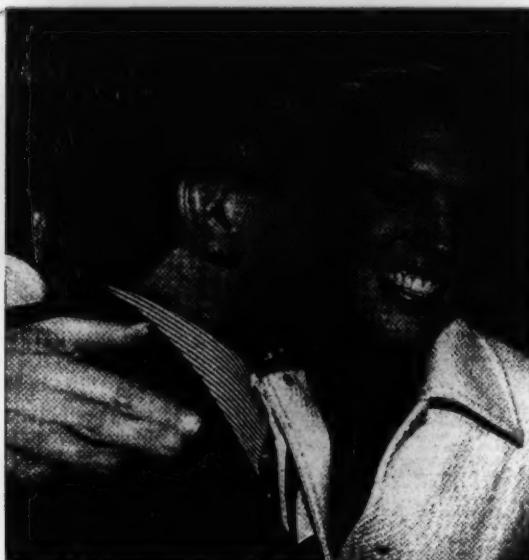
figure 89 Miss Canada Contestant 1949
Beverly McDougall, Hula Dancer



figure 90 Miss Canada Beauty Pageant 1949 Swimsuit Competition



figure 91a and 91b Crowning of Miss Canada 1949 Margaret Lynn Munn



Lynsey Bennett, greeted by father George at the Ottawa airport on Sunday, will decide today on competing.

figure 92 Lynsey Bennett Wayne Cuddington Photo
National Post 26 Nov., 2002



figure 93 "Miss Canadiana" Camille Turner
Steve McKinley Photo *Globe and Mail* 3 Feb., 2005